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***A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON  
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA  
(Received in January-June 1983)***

*January 1984*

*Author: Barbara A. LePoer*

## PREFACE

This bibliography contains citations of monographs and serial articles relating to the countries of the Indian Subcontinent: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The compilation is selective and is intended principally as a reference work for research on the foreign relations, government, and politics of the nations concerned. The bibliography covers works acquired, cataloged, published, or reported during the first 6 months of 1983.

The user of previous bibliographies in this series may wish to note some changes in organization. This bibliography is divided into individual country sections plus an initial listing of South Asian material. Works relating to bilateral events or subjects are listed twice, once in each section of the country concerned. Works that are of multilateral or regional implication are listed once in the South Asia section. Each section, in turn, is subdivided into monographs and serials, with the view toward aiding the reader who wishes to identify quickly a longer treatment of a particular subject.

Monographs are listed alphabetically by author or by title where no author is given. Wherever a copy of material being cited could be obtained, a brief abstract, review, or summary is presented with the citation. Where existence of a work was reported (e.g., in publishers' notices, review articles, etc.) but a copy could not be obtained by the time of publication, the monograph is merely cited, or cited with minimal description. Included among the monographs are some entries dated before 1983. In some cases these are books of scholarly interest listed in previous bibliographies of this series, but not described; in other cases they are materials not previously identified but considered useful and worth including here.

Serials are listed chronologically, thus affording the reader the opportunity to move progressively through the events of the year, and optimally to find accounts of particular events reasonably clustered together. Quarterlies precede monthlies, which are followed by weeklies and dailies organized by date. Two entries of the same date are alphabetized by the name of the serial and thereunder by the author's name.

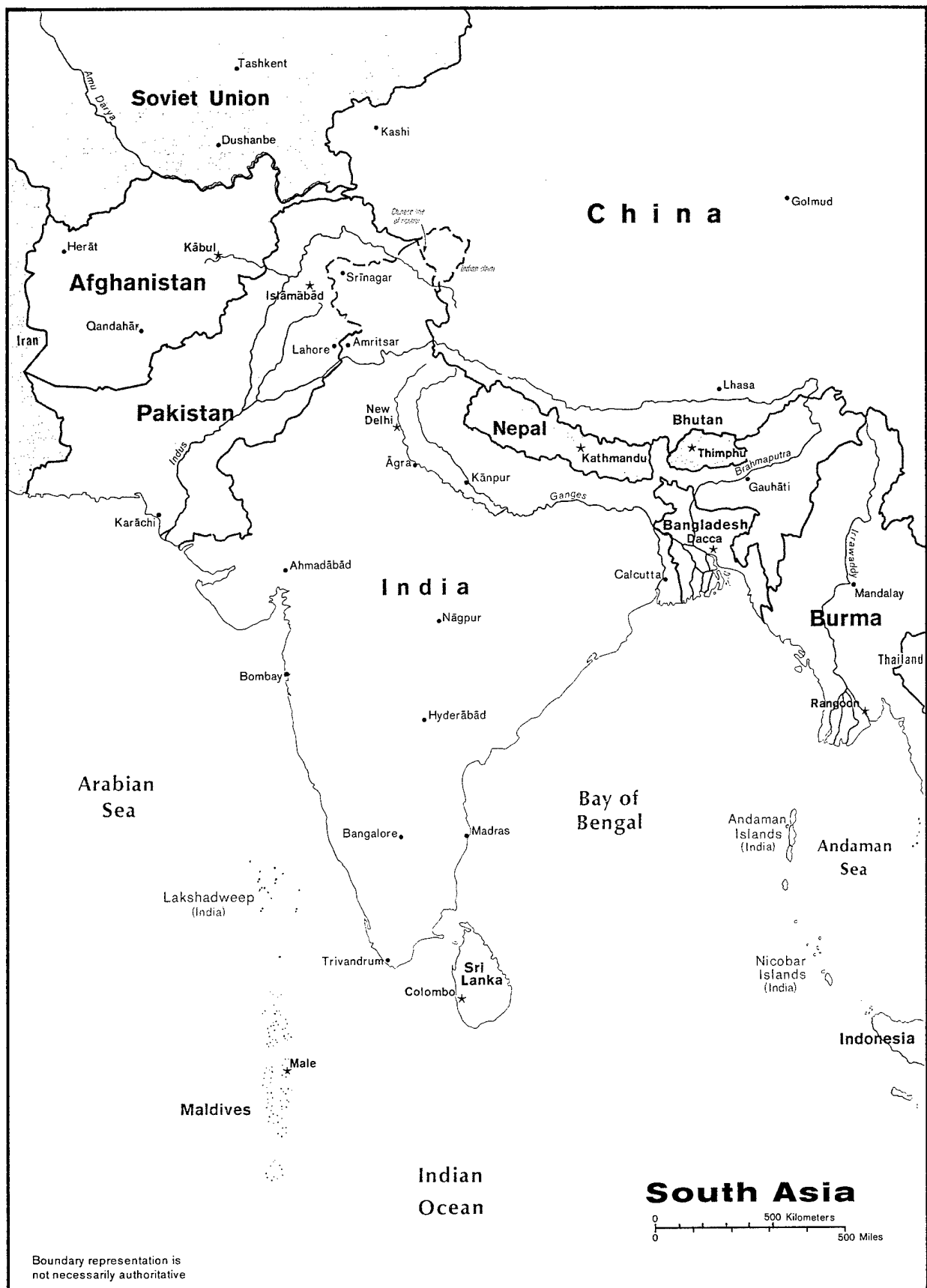
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A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY  
OF THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA  
(Received in January-June 1983)

SOUTH ASIA

Monographs

Gibbons, Bob and Ashford, Bob. The Himalayan Kingdoms: Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim. London: B. T. Batsford, 1983, 157 pp.

Johnson, Maxwell Orme. The Military as an Instrument of US Policy in Southwest Asia. The Rapid Development Joint Task Force, 1979-1982. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983, 134 pp.

In his 1980 State of the Union Address to Congress, President Carter committed the United States to the defense of the Persian Gulf region. This study focuses on the link between political and military planning between 1979 and 1982 in evolving a policy for Southwest Asia. Philosophical differences between policy directors of the Pentagon and the State Department are discussed. The policy finally developed by the Carter and Reagan administration revolved around a Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDJTF) consisting of 100,000 combat troops ready to be committed to Southwest Asia in less than 30 days to counter or deter any threat to the Persian Gulf oil supply. Problems of mobilizing such a force are discussed at length including sealift and airlift mobility, fuel and water resources, casualty evacuation and treatment, and organization and training. Also discussed is the role of the Gulf Cooperation Council, NATO, and other allied countries in supporting US policy. The author concludes that when all the problems are worked out the RDJTF will be a valuable instrument of US foreign policy as a military force capable of deterring Soviet adventurism. (bibliography)

Serials

Ram, Mohan. "A Lease on Trouble." Far Eastern Economic Review, 3 March 1983, p. 30.

Mauritius' fight for the return of the Chagos Archipelago will be taken to the nonaligned nations conference gathering in New Delhi in March, with the hope of persuading the delegates to demand the dismantling of the US base on the island of Diego Garcia. The British leased Diego Garcia to the United States for 50 years. When Mauritius gained independence from the British in 1968, the Chagos Archipelago was not included, and compensation was paid, which Mauritius contends was not in return for sovereignty over the archipelago, but for rehabilitation of 1,500 displaced islanders. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has reportedly conceded Mauritius' sovereignty over Diego Garcia while expressing that the base is necessary to defend democracy and could only be returned when the need for such defense posture ceases. Mauritius Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth recently stated his

country's chief interest was in getting the superpowers out of the Indian Ocean. His government, therefore, would not offer, out of frustration, base facilities to the Soviet Union as a counterbalance to Diego Garcia.

"Charting a New Course." India Today, 15 March 1983, p. 58.

This special report previews the upcoming Nonaligned Movement meeting in New Delhi and the feverish preparations underway. Some 97 heads of state are expected to come together to discuss such knotty problems as Afghanistan, Kampuchea, superpower rivalry around the world, and North-South economic disparity. The article also traces the history of the movement and provides a map locating both original and current members of the movement.

"Banking '83." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 May 1983, p. 100.

Presents a survey of Asian banking news; including articles on the status of the banking industry in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Nepal.

Sricharatchanya, Paisal. "A Spare Ricebowl." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 May 1983, p. 68.

Five South Asian countries are in the planning stages of setting up a food bank of rice and wheat from which member countries could draw in times of emergency. The South Asian Food Security Reserve (SAFSR) is being organized under the guidance of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). The program proposes a 200,000-ton reserve for the following countries with contributions to the reserve indicated: India (77 percent), Bangladesh (11 percent), Pakistan (9 percent), Sri Lanka (1.5 percent), and Nepal (1.5 percent). The security reserve would function similarly to the Asean Food Security Reserve established in 1980.

Ali, Salamat. "Something In Common." Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 June 1983, p. 118.

A conference of government officials and business executives from the seven South Asian nations was to be held in mid-June in New Delhi to seek ways of forging closer trade ties within the region.

## AFGHANISTAN

### Monographs

Bradsher, Henry S. Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1983, 324 pp.

The author, a former Moscow bureau chief for the Washington Star and a veteran Afghanistan watcher, has produced an exhaustive study of the events leading up to the 1978 Saur revolution and the 1979 Soviet invasion.

Bradsher painstakingly sifts through the mountains of theories and rumors that are often cited to explain such diverse topics as: the offensive/defensive motivations of Soviet policy; Hafizullah Amin's supposed CIA connection; the shadowy Herat mutiny; and the prospects for a Soviet "quagmire," Vietnam-style. Bradsher predicts a "grim future" for the Afghans, who are unfortunately destined to go the way of other non-Russian minorities who were conquered by Soviet imperialists. Until researchers are allowed access to the Kremlin archives, this book should stand up as an authoritative interpretation of the ongoing tragedy of Afghanistan. (bibliography, index, map)

Hammond, Thomas T. Red Flag over Afghanistan: The Communist Coup, The Soviet Invasion and the Consequences. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983, 250 pp. (bibliography, index).

Hussian, Syed Shabbir. Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: The Long Wait. Islamabad: Kamran Publishing House, 1982, 28 pp. (illustrations, map)

Mathur, Girish. New Afghanistan. New Delhi: Sterling, 1983, 147 pp.

McLachlan, Keith S. and Whittaker, William. A Bibliography of Afghanistan. Cambridge, UK: Middle East and North African Studies Press, 1983, 626 pp.

Described as a working bibliography for social scientists and historians, the book presents materials in English, French, and German. The following topics are included: bibliographies, geology, flora and fauna, water resources, geographical studies, travel, history, politics, economy and infrastructure, agriculture and forestry, language and literature, and the arts. (maps)

Quddus, Syed Abdul. Afghanistan and Pakistan. A Geopolitical Study. Lahore: Feroz Sons Ltd., 1982, 210 pp.

### Serials

World Affairs (New York), vol. 145 (Winter 1982-83), p. 220.

This entire issue of World Affairs (Journal of the American Peace Society) is devoted to the current crisis in Afghanistan. The main conclusion of these essays is that the Soviet invasion was a result of decades of meticulous planning and maneuvering, rather than an impulsive response to Soviet perceptions of instability on its southern border and fear of a rising tide of Muslim fanaticism. The article on US-Afghan relations chronicles decades of bumbled diplomacy and missed opportunities on the part of the United States toward a country seeking recognition and assistance. A former Afghan Minister of Mines and Industry (1975-78) explores the economic motivation behind the Soviet invasion, detailing considerable wealth in such resources



as natural gas, iron ore, copper, chrome, and uranium, as well as lesser deposits of many other minerals, including rare and precious metals. Two articles deal with Soviet tactics and weapons being used in Afghanistan, including reports on the use of chemical weapons. Concluding the series of essays are two eyewitness reports on violations of human rights and international law in Afghanistan.

"Are Soviet Clients Pitching In?" Asiaweek, 7 January 1983, p. 20.

Since 1980 there have been reports from Afghan guerrilla fighters of the presence of other nationalities among the Soviet troops including Cubans, Bulgarians, Vietnamese, Czechs, and East Germans. Similar reports have come from Afghan communist defectors including an Air Force colonel and a former deputy commander of Khad, Kabul's secret police. No hard evidence, however, has yet been produced to substantiate the reports.

"The KGB Sleeps Easy." Asiaweek, 14 January 1983, p. 21.

In the last year there have been reports of Afghan rebel attacks on Soviet ports across the Amu Darya (Oxus River). The reports are described as wishful thinking on the part of Westerners hopeful that the Soviet Union's 43 million Muslims might be inspired to revolt by the example of their Afghan Muslim brothers. Most of the reports when tracked down amounted to little more than midnight cattle rustling expeditions, an activity that has been going on for centuries.

"Russia Digs Deeper." Asiaweek, 14 January 1983, p. 19.

This issue of Asiaweek features a long cover story on the Afghanistan situation. The main article assesses how the mujahidin are doing and concludes that they are defeating themselves. Factionalism, based on ethnic and religious differences, have reduced resistance to Soviet occupation to "a ragged facade." Ethnic differences are not surprising in a land peopled by a bewildering array of tribes and subtribes. But the most divisive differences are between the fundamentalist Islamic guerrilla groups and the nationalist groups. Probably most serious is the rivalry between the two leading fundamentalist factions, Hisb-e-Islami led by Gulbaddin Hekmatyar and the Jamiat-e-Islami under Burhanuddin Rabbani. Another serious problem for the mujahidin is the central Hazarajat region, stronghold of the Shi'ite minority Muslim sect. Here, and in the northern province of Balkh, Muslims have been fighting Muslims, as Shi'ite radicals, inspired and armed by Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran, have launched well-coordinated attacks on conservative guerrilla groups. Another problem faced by the guerrillas is an increased use of infiltrators and spies by the Soviets to gain information about guerrilla movements and strike plans. In addition, the Soviets have severely punished by bombing and rocketing the civilian populations of such areas as the Panjshir Valley where the guerrillas have been successful in establishing territorial control. Meanwhile, in other areas the Red Army has distributed scarce food supplies in order to win over the population.

"Soviet Mujahideen." Asiaweek, 14 January 1983, p.23.

A small but fast growing number of Soviet prisoners and defectors is cropping up among the Afghan guerrilla forces. Some of these have joined with the mujahidin to fight for Afghan freedom. Defectors are usually central Asians who found Soviet army life under Russian and Ukrainian officers and NCOs difficult at best. The International Committee of the Red Cross has evacuated about seven Soviet prisoners to Switzerland for internment. The Kabul government, however, has refused so far to turn any of its prisoners over to the ICRC.

"Struggle in the Cities." Asiaweek, 14 January 1983, p. 29.

As night falls on the northern Afghanistan city of Mazar-i-Sharif, small guerrilla groups drift into the city, lose themselves in the labyrinthine alleyways, and prepare for another night of terrorist activities. The guerrillas live in camps in the mountains south of the city and come in to Mazar-i-Sharif for several days at a time, being fed and quartered by the inhabitants, but always keeping on the move. This arrangement grew out of the events in Kandahar where rebel groups permanently occupied certain sections of the city, which were subsequently leveled by Soviet bombing and artillery, with great loss of civilian lives and property.

Cole, Stephen V. "The War in Afghanistan." Review of the News, 26 January 1983, p. 51.

The author concludes that the Soviets have no intention of leaving Afghanistan and presents considerable evidence to support his conclusion. He points to the use of KGB and MVD troops, the construction underway on a railroad between Kabul and the USSR, new radar stations, and the annexation of the Wakhan Corridor. The occupation of Afghanistan is seen as only one step toward Soviet aspirations of controlling the oil-rich Persian Gulf. An overview is given of Soviet troop organization, weapons, and tactics in Afghanistan.

Abraham, Antoine J. and Majid, Ahmed Abdul. "Miscalculations on Afghanistan." Contemporary Review, vol. 242 (February 1983), p. 57.

Both the Soviets and the United States made miscalculations in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, according to the author. The Soviets misjudged the ability of the major Afghan resistance groups to form at least a somewhat cohesive Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan in defense of their country. Both the Soviets and the United States miscalculated the degree of support they could expect from their allies. The Eastern European states supported the Soviet position belatedly and half-heartedly, perhaps as a reaction to memories of Soviet troops in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Western European states were reluctant to back solidly the US position in view of their own interests in trade and detente. The early Islamic nations' support for Afghanistan proved to be a "fruitless gesture" because of Moscow's ability to pressure the pro-Soviet Arab states Syria,

Iraq, South Yemen, and the PLO. The authors conclude that only armed force in the form of support for Afghan guerrillas, will convince the Soviets that the cost of occupying Afghanistan is too high.

Noorzoy, M. Siddieq. "Alternative Economic Systems for Afghanistan." International Journal of Middle East Studies, vol. 15 (February 1983), p. 25.

Looking to the future, the author analyzes the economy of Afghanistan and projects two types of viable economic systems: one for a "free Afghanistan" and the other for a Soviet-dominated Afghanistan. In either case, he recommends as the first priority the promotion of agriculture, on which the Afghan economy is based. The two most immediate problems a free government would face are the return and resettlement of three million-plus Afghan refugees and the reconstruction of perhaps 4,000 war-torn villages. Other recommendations include: the development of cash crops; integrating the farming sector with the rest of the economy; making both education and credit more available to farmers; and a program of land reclamation through irrigation. The author then projects how the Soviets will deal with Afghanistan's economic problems under a continuing stalemate and what alternatives are available to them in directing a long-term state-run agricultural system in Afghanistan.

Fullerton, John. "Troublesome Trio." Far Eastern Economic Review, 10 February 1983, p. 16.

UN special envoy Diego Cordovez has recently concluded a round of shuttle diplomacy on the Afghanistan situation, talking with government leaders in Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. The general feeling is that although there are undercurrents of change in the positions of all the countries involved, negotiations are likely to go on for years. The article reports speculation on changes in the stances of the various participants. The Soviets are reported to be encouraging Kabul to establish a pilot project involving the return of 5-10,000 Afghan refugees. Kabul and Moscow both appear anxious to make progress in these early talks, if only to improve the international credibility of the Afghan regime. Iran has consistently refused to enter into UN negotiations unless Afghan resistance leaders are allowed to participate. Teheran has recently taken more interest in talks, however, due to clashes between Iranian security forces and Afghan guerrillas and between Iranian forces and Soviet-Afghan hot-pursuit units. Pakistan so far has refused to compromise on its four principles: withdrawal of all Soviet forces; return of the Afghan refugees "with honor and dignity"; return of Kabul to its nonaligned Islamic status; and the right of Afghans to choose their own form of government. Some observers believe, however, that there is room for negotiation on these points for a significant quid pro quo.

Arnett, Peter. "Report from a War Zone." Parade Magazine, 20 February 1983, p. 12.

Foreign correspondent and Pulitzer prize winner Arnett gives his impression of the war going on in Afghanistan "while the world looks the other way." The stated purpose of his visit was to find out if the Soviets were winning,

and if not, what their plans were. The conclusion he reached after living with a guerrilla band for two weeks was that a stalemate has been reached in which the Soviets are unwilling to commit the additional forces that would be needed for a decisive victory and the guerrillas have insufficient strength and outside support to drive the Soviets out. Arnett predicts, however, that the mujahidin will never give up their fight against the "infidel invaders."

Kline, David, "The conceding of Afghanistan," Washington Quarterly, vol. 6 (Spring 1983), p. 130.

Beginning with a criticism of US foreign policy toward Afghanistan, the author works himself up to a scathing indictment of Reagan foreign policy in toto. A rather simplistic view of the Afghan situation is presented with the final analysis that all the mujahidin need to win back their country is more US support, both material and diplomatic. His analysis of US Afghan policy is that it "appears to have been designed almost with the express purpose of letting the Soviets off the political hook."

Horn, Robert C. "Afghanistan and the Soviet-Indian Influence Relationship." Asian Survey, vol. 23 (March 1983), p. 244.

The author examines various attempts made by the Soviet Union and India to influence each other on the Afghanistan problem. After analyzing numerous official visits, statements, press conferences of various top level Indian and Soviet officials, and statements made before such international audiences as the United Nations General Assembly and the Nonaligned Movement, he concludes that neither side has been able to influence the other, to any significant degree, from their original positions. India has been unable to convince the Soviets to withdraw any of their forces from Afghanistan or even discuss plans for doing so. The Soviets, on the other hand, have not been able to secure Indian support for their presence in Afghanistan. The author predicts, however, that Indo-Soviet friendship will continue, and neither country will jeopardize its relations with the other over differences related to Afghanistan.

Partem, Michael Greenfield. "The Buffer System in International Relations." Journal of Conflict Resolution, vol. 27 (March 1983), p. 3.

States located between two competing powers are highly susceptible to becoming the arena for struggles between those powers. The author defines and examines the buffer state system in analytical terms, using as case studies Afghanistan (1870-1978), Cambodia (1954-71) Lebanon (1943-81), and Belgium (1831-1945). He points out that the timing of the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan took advantage of that country when it was not buffered by a countervailing power. The declining interest and presence of the United States in the 1960s and 1970s and the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979 "made it possible for the Soviets to occupy Afghanistan without running a serious risk."

Fullerton, John. "Rouble Spells Trouble." Far Eastern Economic Review, 31 March 1983, p. 76.

Soviet currency is being sold at a fraction of its official value in Kabul, resold at a somewhat higher price, and then smuggled into the Soviet Union. Soviet officials are currently investigating the ruble traffic, which appears to involve Soviet soldiers and grain dealers, Soviet embassy staff and civilian advisors, Aeroflot, Afghan shopkeepers, and Afghan government officials, including upper echelons of the customs department.

Obrecht, Therese. "Unconventional Treatment." Far Eastern Economic Review, 31 March 1983, p. 38.

Eight Soviet soldiers captured by guerrilla forces in Afghanistan are being interned for two years in Switzerland on the recommendation of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Legal questions have arisen over the treatment of the soldiers as prisoners of war, since the Soviets deny being at war in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, Moscow is paying the room and board bill for the prisoners, who are visited regularly by Soviet diplomats. Other questions that have arisen include what will happen to the soldiers when they return to the Soviet Union, and what if they decide to seek asylum in Switzerland?

Vertzberger, Yaacov. "Sino-Afghan Relations, 1949-1978." Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 6 (Spring 1983), p. 32.

Historically China's policies toward Afghanistan have been dictated by its interests in other spheres including Beijing's relations with the Soviet Union, Pakistan, and India. The author traces the development of Sino-Afghan ties within the framework of these other, more important, relations. Unfortunately the article does not go beyond the 1978 Saur revolution in Afghanistan.

"Talking Back-to-Back." Economist, 16 April 1983, p. 33.

The first round of the Geneva talks on the war in Afghanistan opened on April 11, thanks to the shuttle diplomacy of UN negotiator Diego Cordovez. Negotiations took place indirectly, with the Afghan and Pakistani representatives meeting separately with Cordovez and the Iranians receiving briefings from Cordovez on the results of the "talks." The article discusses the agenda of the talks and the obstacles to resolving the situation. Also discussed is the sudden flurry of reportage on the Afghanistan war in the Soviet press.

"Over Afghan Heads." Economist, 30 April 1983, p. 50.

The article gives a wrapup of the major points of agreement and disagreement after two weeks into the second round of the Geneva negotiations on Afghanistan. Concessions reportedly made include Soviet acceptance of a phased

Soviet withdrawal of troops and Pakistani agreement that the flow of weapons to the Afghan guerrillas must be cut off. Disagreement remains on what sort of government Afghanistan should have after the Soviets withdraw, and whether the Soviets should have the right to send in troops again if fighting breaks out or the Afghan government falls apart.

"Blood-Smeared 'Progress'." Asiaweek, 13 May 1983, p. 18.

The mood of the second round of the Geneva talks on Afghanistan is described as encouraging. Representatives of the Afghan guerrilla groups, however, have expressed fear that a settlement will be made without their participation or approval. In the meantime, the Soviets have stepped up their offensives in northern Afghanistan, without regard for civilian casualties, which reportedly reached 1,500 in a recent attack on the city of Herat.

"Over and Out." Economist, 28 May 1983, p. 54.

In a surprising Radio Moscow broadcast on 23 May 1983, a regular newscaster, Vladimir Danchev, read a report saying that the Afghans were defending their territory against Russian occupants and invaders. He repeated the broadcast two more times that day before being yanked from the airwaves, leaving mystified listeners to their speculations. The article also reports an increase in Soviet air and artillery attacks in the Shamali region north of Kabul and on the city of Herat, resulting in several thousand Afghan civilian casualties. Meanwhile the Geneva peace talks go on.

Lifschultz, Lawrence. "An Accord in the Offing." Far Eastern Economic Review, 9 June 1983, p. 28.

The increasingly optimistic outlook for a settlement on Afghanistan is attributed to a significant political realignment within the Soviet leadership, the continuing prospect of military stalemate in Afghanistan, and concern in Pakistan over escalating domestic tensions. The article discusses the delicateness of the Geneva negotiations, particularly from the Pakistani point of view.

Fullerton, Romey. "Hungering at Home." Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 June 1983, p. 26.

Worsening food shortages in Afghanistan are threatening to bring widespread starvation to that wartorn country, particularly to "internal refugees," those who have fled their own lands, but who are unable to reach either neighboring countries or the relative safety of Afghan cities. A recent survey by a respected Afghan agronomist now living in Peshawar indicates that 1982 production of the major food crops of wheat, corn, rice, and barley was down an average of about 25 percent from 1978 production levels. Some 240,000 tons of wheat were imported in 1982 from the Soviet Union, but transport costs, the rugged terrain, long distances, and poor communication will prevent those most in need from receiving their share.

"Peace Feelers." Asiaweek, 17 June 1983, p. 20.

The stage is set, according to this optimistic article, for a solution to the Afghan crisis. Details of the Soviet withdrawal have reportedly been worked out, with the exact timetable the only stumbling block. In a surprising turn of events in Afghanistan, meanwhile, Tajik guerrillas in the Panjshir valley north of Kabul have reportedly made a peace pact with Soviet troops there. The insurgent commander, Ahmad Shah Massoud, is considered by many to be Afghanistan's best known and most capable guerrilla leader. The article speculates on the meaning of this new turn of events.

"Time to Go Home." Economist, 18 June 1983, p. 12.

After the third round of Geneva Talks, UN intermediary Diego Cordovez describes settlement of the Afghanistan situation as 95 percent complete. However, many serious problems remain. Under the proposed agreement the Soviets will withdraw, weapons traffic through Pakistan to the Afghan guerrillas will cease, something akin to the present Afghan government will remain in power, and the four million Afghan refugees will return from Pakistan and Iran. The problems not yet solved include timetables for these various events and the lack of involvement and consultation of one of the major parties to the dispute -- the Afghan guerrillas. Many other loose ends remain, including uncertainty about whether the Soviets are really serious about withdrawing. The author urges that, if the Soviets are serious, the United States, whose approval of any settlement is necessary, should strike a bargain now.

Harrison, Selig S. "A Breakthrough in Afghanistan?" Foreign Policy, no. 51 (Summer 1983), p. 3.

Harrison, a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment, asks what should be the US objective in Afghanistan. The two choices he presents are: attempting to keep the Soviets tied down there indefinitely for reasons of global strategy, or supporting a Soviet withdrawal through a negotiated settlement. After examining the pitfalls and difficulties involved in a negotiated settlement and pointing out the opposition to it among hard-liners in the State Department, the National Security Council, and the Pentagon, Harrison opts for settlement as the preferable choice. He points out that Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan would serve US security interests in the Persian Gulf and South Asia by removing military pressure in these areas resulting from the Soviet occupation. A Soviet withdrawal would also help stabilize the political situation in South Asia, particularly in Pakistan with its internal problems. He points out that Pakistan has moved away from its "front-line state image" and is seeking greater freedom of action in its dealings with the superpowers. Harrison recommends encouraging Pakistan to pursue the UN negotiations to a successful conclusion and notes further that the US will lose any political benefit it may have gained from the Soviets "ugly adventure" if it appears to be "prolonging the bloodshed for its own strategic reasons...."

## BANGLADESH

### Monographs

Ali, K. Bangladesh. A New Nation. Dhaka: Ali Publications, 1982, 282 pp. (bibliography, index, portraits)

This book is a regional history of the area known as Bengal and Bangladesh. It covers events from the beginning of the British epoch in 1757 to the present time.

Sathyamurthy, T. V. Nationalism in the Contemporary World: Political and Sociological Perspectives. London: Frances Pinter Publishers, 1983, 246 pp.

Of particular interest in this study on nationalism is the chapter entitled "Impact of Language, Religion, and Political Economy on Bangladesh Nationalism." The author contends that we should be surprised not by the fact that Bangladesh seceded from Pakistan, but that it took so long to do so. It was not until the masses were politically awakened that the Awami League and the middle and lower middle classes were carried along by the tide of secession. The ruling classes of East Pakistan were more comfortable working with their counterparts in West Pakistan than with the unknown factor of their own politically and economically awakened masses. Sathyamurthy suggests that the acceptance of the idea of joining with India's western Muslims to form the nation of Pakistan was a reaction to the Bengali Muslim experience in the British colonial period when they suffered economic oppression at the hands of the Hindu landlord class. This reaction was not unlike the mass conversion to Islam centuries earlier by the lower caste Bengalis who were seeking escape from the repression of the Brahmin rulers. (bibliography)

### Serials

"Private Calculations." Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 18 (January 1983), p. 3.

Efforts by twelve political parties of Bangladesh to forge a united platform from which to press Lt Gen H. M. Ershad for a "restoration of democracy" have been hampered by the refusal of the Awami League leader to sign the proposed statement of the allied parties. Hasina Wazed, daughter of Bangladesh founding father Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, is president of the Awami League, the largest and most cohesive of the nation's political parties. The article speculates on the motives behind Hasina Wazed's refusal to give her approval to the statement.

Tasker, Rodney. "Let the People Read." Far Eastern Economic Review, 13 January 1983, p. 13.

Improvement of the Bangladesh educational system is considered a major concern of the military regime of Lt Gen H. M. Ershad. Under a recently



announced education policy due to be implemented immediately, the current literacy rate of 22 percent is to be raised to 50 percent in 5 years and vocational education will be given special emphasis with an increase in vocational training centers from 47 to 500, one for each thana (district). Some university places, of which there are only 40,000 annually, will be awarded free on the basis of merit. Currently personal wealth is the main qualification for entrance to the university. There is general scepticism about the ability of the government to introduce such miracle cures for Bangladesh's woefully inadequate educational system. Part of the impetus for the reforms has been the continual discontent among the university students that has occasionally escalated into demonstrations and violence. In order to accomplish its educational goals, the Bangladesh government must certainly increase its current expenditures of 1.2 percent, compared to a UNESCO recommendation of a minimum of 7 percent of GNP spent on education.

Kamaluddin, S. "Decreed to be Freed." Far Eastern Economic Review, 27 January 1983, p. 12.

The military government of Bangladesh will sell all government-owned newspapers and periodicals to the private sector by February 21, Lt Gen H. M. Ershad announced in January. Some of the papers (four dailies, three weeklies, a newsweekly, a film magazine, and a children's periodical) were taken over by the government soon after Bangladesh became independent from Pakistan in December 1971, as they were owned by Karachi-based companies. The aim of the new policy "to ensure a viable and vibrant press," has also led the government to raise the share of its advertising budget devoted to papers outside Dhaka from 20 to 35 percent in an attempt to encourage the growth of regional publications.

Kamaluddin, S. "A Crawl Not a Leap." Far Eastern Economic Review, 27 January 1983, p. 56.

The Bangladesh economy, always in a precarious state, suffered another difficult year (fiscal year ending in June 1982), as agricultural production declined 0.6 percent, resulting in higher foodgrain prices and rising inflation. Jute manufactures--the country's main export item--increased in volume, but world recession forced the price down, resulting in a decline of foreign exchange earnings. Imports also dropped, resulting in a decline of government revenues earned from taxes and duties on imports. Prospects for fiscal year 1983 are not much brighter, except for the jute textile industry, which is predicting a substantial increase in production, due largely to government incentives.

Kamaluddin, S. "Progress in Private." Far Eastern Economic Review, 17 February 1983, p. 52.

The recently inaugurated (January 1983) Industrial Promotion and Development Company of Bangladesh (IPDC) promises to bring more private investment to that country. The IPDC is a joint venture of the Bangladesh government, World Bank's International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Commonwealth Development

Corp (CDC), the (West) German Development Agency (DEG), and the Industrial Promotion Services (IPS) of Switzerland, owned by the Aga Khan. Establishment of the IPDC comes in the wake of a new Bangladesh government policy encouraging private investment. So far eleven industrial projects have been assumed by the IPDC in such areas as leather and textile finishing, lock and tool manufacturing, fish freezing, soap and glycerin production, etc.

Kamaluddin, S. "A Shift Toward Islam?" Far Eastern Economic Review, 10 February 1983, p. 22.

Recent statements by Bangladesh military ruler Lt Gen H. M. Ershad seem to indicate that he is leaning toward, or at least being influenced by, Islamic fundamentalists. In speaking to a gathering of Muslim teachers he stated, "The ideas and principles of Islam will be reflected in every sphere of state and national life; the place of Islam as a religion will be maintained above all in the constitution of the country." There has been widespread reaction to these and other statements. Extreme opposition has also been expressed to attempts by Ershad to Islamicize the upcoming Martyrs Day observance, which memorializes Bengali students gunned down in 1952 while protesting the decision of the Pakistani government to make Urdu the sole national language. Some 14 opposition parties have joined in making statements and urging a traditional observance of Martyrs Day. The controversy seems to have brightened prospects for a political alliance to push for the restoration of democracy.

Kamaluddin, S. "A Safety Net for Jute." Far Eastern Economic Review, 24 February 1983, p. 66.

Jute producers have been hard hit in recent years by the plunging price of jute on the world market. Bangladesh, which supplies more than 55 percent of the world's production, is particularly affected because the fiber is its main export. In recognition of the crisis, the United Nations is encouraging the formation of an International Jute Organization (IJO), to be made up of the major jute-producing and jute-consuming countries. The main objective of the IJO would be to increase the competitiveness of jute vis-a-vis artificial fibers. According to the plan for the projected organization, the IJO will be headquartered in Dhaka and the chief executive will be from India, which has about 30 percent of the market for jute. At this time it is not known whether the United States will join the IJO.

"Dhaka's Foreign Legion." Far Eastern Review, 24 February 1983, p. 9.

A one-paragraph announcement confirms the rumor that a contingent of 10,000 Bangladeshi troops is being sent to Saudi Arabia to replace one of the Pakistani divisions there, which reportedly is being transferred to an undisclosed Persian Gulf country.

"The Tiger Growls." Economist, 26 February 1983, p. 52.

Lt Gen H. M. Ershad, chief martial law administrator of Bangladesh, has succeeded in alienating the most vocal groups in the Bangladesh populace--students, lawyers, academics, and politicians--by some of his attempts at reform. Politicians and civil servants are angered at his decentralization of political power by turning over such functions as tax collection to the district level. Lawyers are upset by the decentralization of legal power through the creation of three provincial benches of the high court. Students and professors are alarmed at various education reforms, including proposals to add Arabic to the school curriculum. Ershad still claims to be committed to returning Bangladesh to civilian rule; but he has managed to stir up a lot of controversy along the way.

"Reforms, Riots, and Round-ups." Asiaweek, 4 March 1983, p. 17.

Student-led riots erupted in Bangladesh in February in response to educational reforms decreed by the government of Chief Martial Law Administrator H. M. Ershad. Criticism focused on changes in university admission policies and proposals to make the study of Islam and Arabic mandatory. Fighting broke out between Islamic fundamentalist and secular student groups. The army was called in to restore order, universities were closed for the rest of the month, and Dhaka was placed under a curfew. Ershad responded to protesters demands by agreeing to review the educational reform program and by stating that local polls would be held this coming winter and national elections a year later.

Kamaluddin, S. "Less Balking, More Talking." Far Eastern Economic Review, 10 March 1983, p. 30.

Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt Gen H. M. Ershad has called for a national dialogue to develop a proper political system in which law and order would prevail. The dialogue is scheduled to begin March 24 on the one-year anniversary of Ershad's military takeover. The article discusses the February student clashes in Dhaka between secular and fundamentalist Islamic groups, which resulted in a temporary takeover of the city by the military. It was noted that the military quickly withdrew after the disturbances, reflecting the determination of the Ershad government to create the necessary political climate for a free and open dialogue on the nation's political processes.

Mitra, Sumit. "Uneasy Truce." India Today, 15 March 1983, p. 75.

February in Dhaka was marked by riots and demonstrations against Bangladeshi Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt Gen H. M. Ershad's attempts to move his country along the road of Islamization. The author states that Ershad's Islamization plans include: replacing the British judicial system with shariat (Islamic law); making Islam the state religion; introducing Arabic in the primary schools; and raising a 10,000-man army for the exclusive use of the Government of Saudi Arabia.

"Muzzled." Economist, 2 April 1983, p. 59.

Lt Gen H. M. Ershad celebrated his first anniversary in power by releasing several hundred students arrested in February for antigovernment demonstrations. He also lifted the ban on indoor political activities, but not on outdoor rallies. Movement toward the promised parliamentary elections continues to be painfully slow.

Kamaluddin, S. "Private Sector Credit Goes Up and Up." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 May 1983, p. 117.

Bangladesh may be nearing the end of a long recession according to experts who point to the recent substantial expansion of bank credit in the private sector. The sudden upturn in private-sector activities is attributed to the government's new policy of encouraging the private sector to play a greater role in the development of the economy.

Karim, Ihsanul. "Banking on Islam." India Today, 15 May 1983, p. 81.

With recent efforts by the Bangladesh government to encourage the private sector, banking is one business that is booming. The latest new bank to open its doors in Dhaka is Islami Bank Bangladeshi Limited, which will do business according to Islamic principles. These include loaning money on a partnership basis rather than charging interest, which is considered usury, and not investing in projects involving wine or luxury items. Major sponsors of the bank include Islamic countries of the Middle East.

Kamaluddin, S. "Consensus Confounded." Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 May 1983, p. 20.

Pakistan and Bangladesh are competing for the post of secretary-general of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), which becomes vacant in December 1983. Both claim that it is their turn and that they are supported by the other members. Traditionally the OIC secretary-general is elected by consensus, but according to the author the choice will probably be made by the most powerful member, Saudi Arabia.

Kamaluddin, S. "Indian Troop Movements Worry Bangladesh." Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 May 1983, p. 12.

The Bangladesh foreign ministry has asked for clarification on India's deployment of three additional battalions of its Border Security Force along the border with Bangladesh. Bangladesh refuses to accept India's explanation that the forces have been detailed there to prevent illegal immigration of Bangladesh citizens into Assam, because, according to Bangladesh sources, two of the three battalions have been posted along the West Bengal-Bangladesh border.

Kamaluddin, S. "To Agree Is Sweet." Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 May 1983, p. 88.

Bangladesh appears to be recovering from a two-year economic decline, due in part to increased remittances from Bangladeshis working abroad, trimming of government expenditures, and improved weather conditions. October rains produced a record rice harvest, resulting in a 5 percent increase in foodgrain production over 1981. The article also discusses upturns in the private sector and an increase in international assistance by the World Bank and other members of the Bangladesh aid consortium, as well as more funds anticipated from the socialist and Islamic countries.

Kamaluddin, S. "The Saudi Capital Conduit." Far Eastern Economic Review, 2 June 1983, p. 97.

A joint-venture investment company owned equally by Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia has been established in Dhaka to act as a conduit for Saudi capital into Bangladesh. The new Saudi-Bangladesh Industrial and Agricultural Investment Company will seek to promote large export-oriented industrial projects, as well as agricultural projects, the products of which will be exported to Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries.

Kamaluddin, S. "No Interest in Lending." Far Eastern Economic Review, 30 June 1983, p. 56.

The Islamic Bank of Bangladesh (IBBL), operating on the principle of interest-free banking based on Islamic law, has recently been set up. The 13 Arab sponsors of the bank--banking institutions, government agencies and individuals--retain 70 percent of the bank's equity. The rest will go to Bangladesh sponsors and public subscribers. The article lists the various sponsors and briefly explains the Islamic modarba (profit sharing) system under which the bank operates. The IBBL projects opening nine branches throughout the country, and the Bangladesh government has requested the six nationalized banks to each open a separate branch in the major cities devoted to interest-free banking.

## BHUTAN

### Serials

Khalid, Zulfikar. "Bhutan - The Dragon Kingdom." Asian Defence Journal, December 1982, pp. 30-31.

The Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan would like to exchange its role in a client-patron relationship with India for recognition of its mountain fastness as a zone of peace or buffer state between China and India. The author examines

the background of Bhutan's relationship with India, a holdover from the days of the British East India Company. He notes that by 1910 the relationship had been formalized in a treaty under which the British government pledged to exercise no interference in the internal affairs of Bhutan, while the Himalayan state itself agreed to be guided by British advice in external matters. India replaced Britain in the relationship under a 1949 treaty. In recent years China has accused India of forcing Bhutan into a role of subservience and India has charged China with fomenting anti-Indian feelings. Bhutan, with its eye on the fates of Sikkim and Tibet, has generally kept a low profile in the face of the cross-Himalayan name-calling. Recently, however, Bhutan has begun to reinterpret the 1949 treaty to mean that India may advise, but Bhutan has the final decision on its own foreign affairs. The government in Thimphu has informed China that it is ready for border demarcation talks with its northern neighbor. New Delhi, under its treaty commitment to Bhutan's defense and strategic communications, has an unspecified number of Indian army personnel stationed in Bhutan as well as a string of army camps along Bhutan's southern border.

Ram, Mohan. "Bhutan Carrier Is Airborne at Last." Far Eastern Economic Review, 10 March 1983, p. 6.

Druk Air, the new Bhutan airline, opened service on February 11, with an inaugural flight between Paro (near the capital of Thimphu) and Calcutta. The carrier currently operates two flights a week to Calcutta, but plans to acquire soon a second 18-seater, German-made Dornier aircraft.

"Greater Realism on Bhutan." Economic and Political Weekly, 9 April 1983, p. 558.

Indo-Bhutanese relations have been somewhat strained over the last few years as the mountain kingdom has attempted to become more autonomous in its foreign relations. Bhutan has long chafed under India's interpretation of the 1949 treaty between the two countries, which India insists precludes Bhutan from conducting relations with other countries except through the mediation of India. Nevertheless, Bhutan has voted on the opposite side from India on the Kampuchea question, both at the United Nations and the nonaligned nations conferences. Bhutan has also become a full member of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, negotiated aid agreements with the United States, and established an embassy in Dhaka. The author asks if perhaps India is becoming more realistic in its relations with Bhutan.

Davies, Derek. "Traveller's Tales." Far Eastern Economic Review, 14 April 1983, p. 37.

Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the 27-year-old king of Bhutan, is described as handsome, serious, well-spoken, and knowledgeable about the economic and political details of his country. In an interview in New Delhi at the time of the nonaligned summit there, the king discussed with the author political decentralization plans of his government, negotiations to demarcate the

China-Bhutan border, Bhutan's current five-year plan, Tibetan refugee problems, economic development, foreign aid, and relations with India which he described as excellent.

Wilkinson, Julia. "Letter from Paro." Far Eastern Economic Review, 9 June 1983, p. 88.

Bhutan is attempting to walk the very narrow path between modernization and preservation of its cultural integrity. The success of its economic development is largely based on assistance from India in the form of funds and technical personnel for programs in education, roadbuilding, and hydroelectric power. Bhutan faces the difficult problem of how to accept such assistance and still keep foreign influence to a minimum. The article also discusses Bhutan's efforts to develop its tourism potential without suffering the effects of the touristic glut experienced by Nepal. Bhutan must also worry about influxes of Tibetan refugees and Nepalese workers as well as its greater northern neighbor, China.

Kamaluddin, S. "Seeking New Links." Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 June 1983, p. 44.

A new trade agreement being negotiated between Bhutan and India promises to open trade links between Bhutan and Bangladesh, which are separated by 30 miles of Indian territory. India has agreed in principle to provide Bhutan with one rail and one river route. Bhutan could then also use Bangladesh ports to open trade with other countries.

## INDIA

### Monographs

Bajpai, U. S., ed. Nonalignment, Perspectives, and Prospects. New Delhi: Lancers, 1983, 309 pp.

Batra, Satkartar. The Ports of India, rev. 3d ed. Adipur: Kandla Commercial Publications, 1982, 168 pp. (maps, plans)

Chatterji, A. K. Indian Navy's Submarine Arm. New Delhi: Birla Institute of Scientific Research, 1982.

Communist Party of India (Marxist). Documents of the Eleventh Congress of CPI (M), Vijayawada, January 26-31, 1982. New Delhi: Communist Party of India (Marxist), 1982, 408 pp.

Dublish, Kaushalya Devi. Revolutionaries and Their Activities in Northern India. Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation, 1982, 246 pp. (bibliography, index)

Goa, Then and Now, 1961-1981. Panaji, Goa: Government of Goa, Daman, and Diu, Department of Information and Public Relations, 1982, 154 pp.

Gopal, Krishan. Non-Alignment and Power Politics: A Documentary Survey. New Delhi: V. I. Publications, 1983, 215 pp.

Green, William, ed. The Indian Air Force and Its Aircraft: I.A.F. Golden Jubilee 1932-82. London: Dulcimus Books Ltd., 1982, 80 pp.

Gupta, R. B. Indo-US Trade. New Delhi: Rifacimento Organization, 1982, 192 pp.

India (Republic). Ministry of Energy. Annual Report 1982-83. New Delhi: Department of Non-conventional Energy Sources, 1983.

India (Republic). Ministry of Energy. National Symposium on Manufacture of Nuclear Components. Bombay: Department of Atomic Energy, 1982. (1 vol., various pagings)

The volume contains a collection of papers contributed at the National Symposium on Manufacture of Nuclear Components (7-8 April 1982) organized by the Board of Research in Nuclear Sciences, Department of Atomic Energy.

Jaipal, Rikhi. Non-alignment. Origins, Growth, and Political Prospects for World Peace. New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1983, 214 pp.

The author has served for over three decades in the Indian foreign service, as India's ambassador to the United Nations and delegate to numerous nonaligned conferences. In this book, he traces the origins and growth of nonalignment and the major issues faced by each of the first six nonaligned summit meetings. He deals also with the problems and potential of the movement, laying the blame for its failures equally on the members of the movement and the superpower blocs, which have refused to take it seriously. (bibliography, index)

Jawatkar, K. S. Diego Garcia in International Diplomacy. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1983, 360 pp.

Mahajan, V. S., ed. Energy Development in India: Issues, Trends, and Alternative Sources. New Delhi: Deep & Deep, 1983, 190 pp.

Coverage of the whole picture of energy problems is attempted in this relatively short study consisting of papers presented at the 1981 Conference of the Indian Economic Association. The result is a rather general look at



all matters related to energy, including sources, consumption, use, conservation, planning, and government control. Energy sources such as coal, oil, gas, and nuclear are given special attention. The final section is devoted to the development of such alternative energy sources as solar, wind, tidal, and biogas. (bibliography, index)

Mehta, Ved. A Family Affair. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982, 166 pp.

This sequel to an earlier book by the author, The New India, published in 1978, picks up the story of India's ruling family with the end of the Emergency period in 1977 and carries it forward to 1981, just after the death of Sanjay Gandhi. It presents a highly critical, somewhat gossipy, and rather pessimistic view of Indian politics in general and India's ruling family in particular. (index)

Mishra, K. P., ed. Non-alignment: Frontiers and Dynamics. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1982, 512 pp.

This work consists of a compilation of papers presented at a seminar organized by the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Mukherjee, Amitava. India's Policy Toward Pakistan. New Delhi: Associated Book Centre, 1983, 137 pp. (index)

Murty, T. S. Assam. The Difficult Years. A Study of Political Development in 1979-83. New Delhi: Himalayan Books, 1983, 293 pp. (bibliography, index)

Murty, T. S. Paths of Peace: Studies on the Sino-Indian Border Dispute. New Delhi: ABC Publishing House, 1983, 319 pp. (bibliography, index)

Nair, A. Balakrishnan. Facets of Indian Defense. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company, 1983, 128 pp.

The author presents a brief overview of India's defense problems. Topics surveyed include India's defense organization and needed improvements; strategies toward Pakistan and China; main functions of the army, navy, and air force; and weapons and tactics used according to past and current doctrine by India and its neighbors. (index)

Nossiter, T. J. Communism in Kerala. A Study in Political Adaptation. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982, 426 pp.

In 1957 Kerala became the first Indian state to elect a communist government. The experiment lasted only two years, during which the Communist party's

attempts at land and education reform earned it powerful enemies. In 1959 the central government of India stepped in and dissolved the state assembly, installing a nonelected caretaker government in its place. The split of the Communist Party of India in 1964 dimmed the hopes of the communists of returning to full power in the state. The author presents a thorough study of the rise of the communists in Kerala before 1957 and the efforts after 1959 of the rival communist parties at forging various alignments into united front governments. The author focuses on the distinctive character of communism in Kerala, its objectives and record in government, its base of popular support, attitudes toward electoralism, and prospects for the future. (appendixes, bibliography, glossary, index, maps)

Pai Panandiker, V. A. Changing Political Representation in India. New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1983, 144 pp. (bibliography, illustrations, index)

Patil, J. S. Legal Regime of the Seabed. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1981, 131 pp. (bibliography, index)

Raj, Hans. Contemporary Problems of Indian Policy. Delhi: Surjeet Publications, 1983.

Rao, Vyendra K. R. V. India's National Income, 1950-1980. An Analysis of Economic Growth and Change. New Delhi, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983, 208 pp. (bibliography, index)

Rama Rao, R. India and the Atom. New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1982, 176 pp. (bibliography, illustrations, index)

Roy, Gandhi Jee. The Non-aligned Diplomacy of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1983, 311 pp. (bibliography, index)

Sankhdher, M. M. Framework of Indian Politics. Delhi: Gitanjali, 1983, 329 pp.

Sarkar, S. Hindustan Yearbook and Who's Who 1983. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 1983.

Sharma, Dharendra. India's Nuclear Estate. New Delhi: Lancers Publishers, 1983, 195 pp.

Domestic criticism of India's extensive and comparatively advanced nuclear establishment has traditionally been muted. The author of this polemic, however, has broken with tradition and produced a scathing indictment of almost every aspect of the Indian program. Sharma believes that the civilian

energy program was ill-conceived from the very beginning by such giants as Homi Bhabha and Jawaharlal Nehru. Nuclear energy has, in the author's opinion, proven to be uneconomic, a drain on India's limited resources and poorly attuned to India's development needs. Moreover, the secrecy and high degree of centralized control that the Indian government maintains over the program suggest that India's primary concern is "to catch up with the advanced technology of the explosive plutonium elements." Sharma excoriates the "elitist" nuclear scientists who, in league with politicians, have made the nuclear estate the "sacred cow" of the bureaucracy. While the book contains some valuable tables and charts that show the development of the Indian program, the main intent of the author is undoubtedly to stir up controversy and generate domestic debate. (illustrations, maps)

Sidhu, K. S. The Indian Ocean. A Zone of Peace. New Delhi: Harnam Publications, 1983.

Militarization of the Indian Ocean by outside powers has been a serious concern of the countries of that region since the early 1960s. The purpose of a "zone of peace" would be to ensure that in the future no nations from outside the region would be allowed to have either permanent naval forces stationed in the Indian Ocean or military bases in the region. This study traces the history of the efforts of the littoral states toward establishing a zone of peace. Of particular interest are the chapters on India's perspectives on the Indian Ocean, which have remained constant since Nehru's administration, and on the international response to the zone of peace concept. This latter chapter gives a brief background of the interests and actions in the Indian Ocean of the Soviet Union, United States, China, France, Great Britain, and Japan. Unfortunately, although the book was first published in 1983, most of the information dates from before 1978.

Sussman, Gerald E. The Challenge of Integrated Rural Development in India. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1982, 178 pp.

In the early 1950s, India became a giant laboratory for testing the theory of community development. According to this theory, the ideal of self-help is stressed and local community support is mobilized for overcoming common problems. National government provides the catalyst by furnishing limited resources to initiate the development process. But the real work of development remains at the local level. In practice there were many complications, such as lack of local organization and conflict between nationally-established goals and locally-defined needs. By the mid-1960s, the program was branded a failure. The author analyzes the Indian community development program, the pilot project known as Etawah, that served as a model for the program, and the difficulties in replicating a pilot project on a national scale. Numerous interviews, tables, graphs, and flow charts are used to identify problem areas in the community development program. In the final chapter the author presents an outline of a "rural development strategy," based on the lessons to be learned from the Indian experiment. The strategy boils down to a return to community development with a determination to solve the basic problem of how to involve the rural poor in programs of economic and social help. (appendixes, bibliography, figures, glossary, tables)

Vasudev, Uma, ed. Issues Before Non-alignment: Past and Future. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1983.

A two-day seminar on the issues before the Nonaligned Conference was held under the sponsorship of the Indian Council of World Affairs in January 1983. This series of papers on the political, economic, strategic, and technological ramifications of nonalignment is the result of that conference. Some of the papers presented the usual biased view of the imperialist United States vs. the Soviet Union, the friend of the nonaligned nations. Most of the papers, however, are genuine attempts to suggest ways to make the movement more effective and the nations of the third world more self-reliant.

Venkatachalam, Viswanathan. The Political, Economic, and Labor Climate in India. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Wharton School, Industrial Research Unit, 1982, 147 pp.

### Serials

Horn, Robert C. "The Soviet Union and Sino-Indian Relations." Orbis, Winter 1983, p. 889.

Moscow is particularly sensitive to any changes in Sino-Indian relations. This study focuses on Soviet reaction to the unprecedented flurry of diplomatic activity between India and the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the past two years. It concludes that although the Soviets have become somewhat more subtle in their efforts to convince India to maintain its anti-China stance, competition with the PRC still dominates Soviet policy in Asia, with India viewed as a key element in the struggle.

"Farce and Tragedy." Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 18 (January 1983), p.3.

The leaders of the agitation in Assam are criticized for not articulating a set of demands that is reasonably attainable. Prime Minister Gandhi is criticized for dismissing the agitation as a plot to deprive Congress (I) of its block of voters in Assam.

Sojka, Gary L. "The Missions of the Indian Navy." Naval War College Review, January-February 1983, p. 1.

The missions of the Indian navy are defined by India's national and maritime interests. These include protection from threats via the sea to India's independence, exploitation of the sea for fish and mineral resources, development of sea trade, and promotion of India's influence among the other Indian Ocean littoral states. Based on these interests, the author discusses, in order of probable importance, the missions of the Indian navy: deterrence, coastal defense, sea control, presence, power projection, monitoring the big power navies, and coast guard duties.

"Calcutta's Chinese: 'Alien Insiders.'" Asiaweek, 7 January 1983, p. 39.

Some 20,000 Chinese, mostly Hakka, live in a section of Calcutta called Tengra, keeping a low profile while looking for ways to move up the economic ladder. Most work for themselves or other Chinese in small businesses such as tanneries, shoemaking business, and restaurants. They recall with some bitterness how they were treated as enemies during the 1962 Sino-Indian War and object to the Indian law that requires Chinese who were born before 1950 to be naturalized in order to gain Indian citizenship.

"Fulfilling a Mandate." Asiaweek, 7 January 1983, p. 20.

In recent two-day talks between Indian Foreign Secretary M. Rasgotra and his Pakistani counterpart Niaz Naik, groundwork was laid for a joint commission to meet annually in New Delhi and Islamabad alternately to discuss various problems and issues. Excluded, however, from the commission agenda are the questions of Kashmir and the introduction of sophisticated arms into the region. The two-day talks were apparently unaffected by a Washington Post article saying India had made contingency plans to launch a pre-emptive strike on Pakistan's nuclear installations.

"The Issue Is Not a Transfer." Asiaweek, 7 January 1983, p. 12.

Communal fighting has broken out in Baroda in the western state of Gujarat. Muslims number about 85,000 or 12 percent, of the largely Hindu-dominated city. Hindu groups complain that the state government has pampered fundamentalist Islamic groups who have become increasingly demanding. A new police commissioner named to deal with the problems was termed too pro-Hindu by five Muslim city councillors who resigned in protest. The state government sacked the police commissioner, touching off student-led riots resulting in 13 dead and \$2 million in damage.

"Insurrection Against Indira." Economist, 15 January 1983, p. 33.

India's voting machine ground to a halt in the January 3 elections to three state legislatures. Despite frequent campaign appearances by Mrs. Gandhi and lavish spending of campaign funds, the Congress (I) party was able to win only 81 of 224 seats in Karnataka. In Andhra Pradesh a new party led by film actor N. T. Rama Rao won 70 percent of the seats. In Tripura, Congress (I) managed to win 11 seats out of 60 from the firmly entrenched Marxist parties, an increase at least over the zero seats it won in the last election. The article analyzes the defeat by saying that it was "not that the opposition was good, but that Mrs. Gandhi's candidates were so bad." The major criticism was of Mrs. Gandhi's personal style of surrounding herself with yes-men and "ruthlessly weeding out all prominent party men with grass-roots support who might one day challenge her." The result is a party purged of talent and run by sycophants and incompetents.

Thapar, Romesh. "Political Health Returns." Economic and Political Weekly, 15 January 1983, p. 47.

In his column "Capital View" Thapar cheers election results in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Tripura as a vote against "Indiramma." He applauds the defeat of what he refers to as a "corrupt and cynical ruling family." Thapar predicts that Prime Minister Gandhi will continue to fight for her "dynastic dream" either by calling an early parliamentary election (later in 1983), or by attempting to change the constitution to a quasipresidential system. He urges the opposition parties to recognize the economic, social, and political crises that are building and come together to search for solutions.

"Towards a Bruised Win." India Today, 15 January 1983, p. 8.

India Today in a cover story previews the upcoming elections in the Indian states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tripura, focusing particularly on the wildfire campaign in Andhra Pradesh of matinee idol N. T. Rama Rao. Although the reporters covering the campaign seem to have grasped the power of the Rama Rao charisma, India Today bets on the wrong horse, predicting a fairly comfortable win by Indira Gandhi's Congress (I) party.

Ram, Mohan. "Setback in the South." Far Eastern Economic Review, 20 January 1983, p. 12.

The January 5 elections to the state legislatures in three Indian states were a serious setback for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her ruling Congress (I) party. In Tripura, the Marxist parties retained the power they had won in 1978, to no-one's surprise. But the defeat of the Congress (I) party in the southern states of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka was described as a blow to Mrs. Gandhi's prestige and credibility and an indictment of corruption, sycophancy, and divisiveness within the party. Mrs. Gandhi has particularly alienated her followers at the state level by choosing the chief ministers of the states ruled by Congress (I), rather than allowing the members of the respective state legislatures to choose them. The January defeat does not bode well for Mrs. Gandhi or her party for the upcoming parliamentary elections, which must be held by 1985, or for the chances of Rajiv Gandhi to succeed his mother as prime minister.

Ram, Mohan. "A Turn to the East." Far Eastern Economic Review, 20 January 1983, p. 58.

By leaps and bounds, the Soviet Union has overtaken the West to become the single largest buyer of Indian goods. India's exports to the Soviet Union have jumped 50 percent each year for the past couple of years, while exports to the United States and Western Europe have held steady or declined. The situation results from increased Soviet demand for consumer goods that cannot be filled by the West due to foreign exchange difficulties, while at the same time India has suffered a loss of markets due to increased protectionism in the West. The Soviet Union is now the largest importer of

Indian tea, tobacco, tanned leather and jute goods, cashews, and cotton piece goods. The Soviets in turn supply India with crude oil, fertilizers, newsprint, and military hardware, for which they accept payment in rupees. Some western firms such as Xerox are gaining access to the Soviet market through joint manufacturing ventures with India.

"Indira's Day of Disaster." Asiaweek, 21 January 1983, p. 16.

The results of the January 3 elections in three Indian states were the worst electoral defeat for Mrs. Gandhi's Congress (I) party since her return to power three years ago. In Andhra Pradesh, film star-turned politician N. T. Rama Rao's Telugu Desam (Land of the Telugu) Party captured 198 seats of the 294-member legislature. Congress (I) seats plummeted from 246 to 60. In Karnataka, Congress (I) only won 81 places (previously 183) in the 224-seat assembly. In Tripura state the communist parties retained power as expected. Mrs. Gandhi and her son Rajiv campaigned heavily in the southern states, but were criticized for not being in touch with local issues and problems. Also blamed for the rout was voter disillusionment with corruption, incompetence, and internal party strife. Rama Rao's win also gave a boost to the party of Maneka Gandhi, Mrs. Gandhi's daughter-in-law, which won four or five seats it contested in alliance with the Telugu Desam.

Ali, Salamat and Richardson, Michael. "An Eye on Antarctica." Far Eastern Economic Review, 27 January 1983, p. 32.

India is keeping its options open in Antarctica. So far it has sent two scientific expeditions (1981, 1982) to the frozen continent, aboard an ice-breaker chartered from Norway, for the purpose of gathering meteorological and geological data. India has so far declined to sign the Antarctica Treaty of 1959 (effective 1961), under which a consultative committee was formed of nations who demonstrate substantial research activity in Antarctica, either by establishment of a station or dispatch of a scientific expedition. Currently only fourteen states are members of the committee. The drawback to signing the treaty is that by so doing India would be barred from making any future territorial claims to the continent. So while refraining from signing the treaty at this time, India is busy establishing herself as eligible for membership on the consultative committee, if and when she does decide to sign.

"Burning Down Assam's Godowns." Economist, 29 January 1983, p. 31.

A boycott of the February elections in Assam state was called for by dissident groups led by student agitators protesting the presence of one million plus illegal Bangladeshi immigrants that have thronged to the state since 1971. This pre-election article describes the violence that was just beginning, including kidnappings, assault, bombings, and burning of public buildings.

"The Crash of '83." India Today, 31 January 1983, p. 18.

The defeat of Indira Gandhi's Congress (I) party in the recent elections in the southern states of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka is described as a tornado that swept away the myth of Indira Gandhi's charisma and the ability of the Congress (I) party machinery to come up with the necessary votes, especially in the previously invincible south. The cover story recaps in detail the "humbling of Mrs. Gandhi" in Karnataka by the Janata-Ranga coalition party and the N. T. Rama Rao phenomenon in Andhra Pradesh, as well as the unsurprising victory of the two Marxists parties that make up the Left Front in Tripura state.

Caplan, Basil. "India Opts for Liberalization." Banker, February 1983, p. 29.

For two decades, India's economic growth rate has averaged a ponderous 3 percent while its population has continued to soar. Part of the cause for the slow growth has been India's doctrine of self-reliance based on a heavily protected state-oriented economy. In the past year or so, the Indian government has adopted new policies of economic liberalization, which encourage expansion of the private sector and foreign investment. The author discusses these policies and their prospects for success.

"No Choice for India." Economist, 5 February 1983, p. 14.

The author suggests that India's chief political problem is not the corruption and division within its ruling Congress (I) party, but rather the lack of a strong, cohesive opposition party. In recent elections to state legislatures the Congress (I) has been defeated soundly, but in each case by a different party or movement. In Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, purely state parties with no national appeal hold sway. Other state legislatures are ruled by patchwork relics of the Janata party, a "stitched-together alliance of convenience" swept into power in 1977 by resentment over Mrs. Gandhi's Emergency Rule, but soon falling into shambles, and turned out of power in 1980. With Congress (I) in power at the center and opposition parties in control in two key southern states, the author sees the real danger as the chaos that is developing in center-state relations.

D'Monte, Darryl. "India's New Regionalism." New Leader, 7 February 1983, pp. 11-12.

Indira Gandhi's political fortunes are seen to be in decline since the 5 January elections in which the Congress (I) party was trounced by regional parties in the two former southern strongholds of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. The defeats were viewed as symptomatic of nationwide disaffection with the corruption and highhandedness of the central government and the Congress (I) party. Problem spots around the nation are discussed and the conclusion drawn that Gandhi's style of centralism is, like her charisma, on the wane.



"Reshuffling an Old Pack." Asiaweek, 11 February 1983, p. 11.

Following the disastrous elections in the southern Indian states of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, former Congress (I) party strongholds, Prime Minister Gandhi has reshuffled her cabinet and council of ministers. The election reverses, blamed on general dissatisfaction of the electorate with corruption and incompetence within Congress (I), have led to widespread demand for a major party leadership shakeup. Mrs. Gandhi's limited rearrangement of her cabinet and council was greeted with disappointment and criticism. Some critics suggest that the prime minister has stripped the party of talent by purging all but yes-men. The article speculates on other upcoming state elections, the future role of Rajiv Gandhi, and the problems Mrs. Gandhi faces in rebuilding her party before the 1985 parliamentary elections.

"On the Big Dipper." Economist, 12-18 February 1983, p. 36.

Indira Gandhi's Congress (I) party bounced back from its defeat in the south last month to win the Delhi election. The party's and Mrs. Gandhi's political fortunes are nonetheless pictured as waning, "unless her chief ministers start governing instead of making money."

"Confusion As Usual." India Today, 15 February 1983, p. 15.

The Indian electorate's support of state parties in recent elections signals its dissatisfaction with national parties, both Indira Gandhi's Congress (I) Party and the various national opposition parties. Rather than taking advantage of the decline of the Congress (I) Party, the opposition parties continue to fight each other. The article analyzes the political goals of the major opposition parties and profiles their leadership.

Ram, Mohan. "Shuffling the Same Pack." Far Eastern Economic Review, 17 February 1983, p. 31.

Prime Minister Gandhi's move to revamp her cabinet has amounted to little more than musical chairs. The major outcome was the elevation of her son Rajiv as one of two general secretaries of the party. However the appointment merely formalizes the role Rajiv already had been playing unofficially.

Ram, Mohan. "To Catch a Thief." Far Eastern Economic Review, 17 February 1983, p. 32.

UNESCO estimates that more than 50,000 art objects have been smuggled out of India in the past decade. Very little can be done to combat the highly organized network of art thieves, unscrupulous dealers, and wealthy collectors anxious to procure the objects, which are often stolen from museums or unguarded temples and historic ruins.

Sarkar, Jayanta. "A Passage to India." Far Eastern Economic Review, 17 February 1983, p. 54.

Indian private enterprise is seeking to tap a sizeable pool of foreign investors--the more than 10 million people of Indian nationality or origin living outside India. More and more Indian companies are issuing debentures to attract overseas Indian investors; unofficial sources estimate the total of such investments at present to be about Rs. one billion. The article discusses Indian government moves to encourage this source of investment capital.

"Rajiv Gandhi's Unsteady Climb." Asiaweek, 18 February 1983, p. 12.

A thumbnail sketch is presented of Rajiv Gandhi's rise toward glory. The author's conclusion is that Rajiv's political fortunes are closely tied to those of his mother. The main challenge facing the Gandhis is to clean up the corrupt image of their Congress (I) Party before the next general election in 1985.

"Democracy to the Death." Economist, 19 February 1983, p. 58.

In probably the bloodiest state election in India's history, fighting was touched off by a boycott of the election led by Assamese students protesting the inclusion of "foreigners" (mostly immigrants from Bangladesh) on the electoral rolls. The result has been an orgy of rioting and massacre, pitting not only Assamese against foreigner, but Hindu against Muslim, and tribesman against villager. Prime Minister Gandhi is criticized for refusing to yield to pressures to call off the election.

"Bloodbath in Assam." Asiaweek, 25 February 1983, p. 9.

In parts of Assam, the election of violence that began as Assamese versus Bengali immigrants has turned to Hindu against Muslim in some of the country's worst communal violence since independence. The article sketches the background of almost a century of migration into Assam that has led to the present situation. Also discussed is the central government's role in the present crisis and what Mrs. Gandhi should or should not have done.

Copley, Gregory. "India's Quiet Revolution." Defense & Foreign Affairs, March 1983, p. 6.

India's defense procurement policies are undergoing change due to internal and external factors. The author concludes that possibly within the decade India will be led to the unavoidable decision to develop and deploy a regional nuclear ballistic missile program.

Banerjee, Jyotirmoy. "Hot and Cold Diplomacy in Indo-Pakistani Relations." Asian Survey, vol. 23 (March 1983), p. 280.

Indo-Pakistani relations since Indira Gandhi's return to power have resembled a fencing match. The author traces diplomatic one-upmanship and allegations by both sides on the questions of Kashmir, the Indo-Soviet arms deal, the US-Pakistani arms package, the Pakistani proposed no-war pact, the Indian proposed treaty of peace and friendship, and nuclear proliferation. The reader soon loses track of the score. The author sounds the warning that unless India and Pakistan give up their game of trying to outfox each other, a tactic which has contributed greatly to the destabilization of the sub-continent, events in Kashmir and tensions over arms acquisitions may push bilateral relations out of control, with unforeseeable consequences for both countries.

Ghosh, Partha S. and Panda, Rajaram. "Domestic Support for Mrs. Gandhi's Afghan Policy: The Soviet Factor in Indian Politics." Asian Survey, vol. 23 (March 1983), p. 261.

Ghosh and Panda analyze the factors that allowed Mrs. Gandhi to take and maintain the stand she did on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In a look at the positions of the major opposition parties on Indo-Soviet ties, both prior to and following the invasion, the authors conclude that Gandhi had little to worry from that direction for several reasons: a) most of the parties were basically pro-Indo-Soviet friendship and, while they were opposed to the invasion, they were not opposed to Mrs. Gandhi's handling of the problem; b) foreign policy is a rather low priority among most of the opposition parties, which tend to leave it to the party in power; and c) Mrs. Gandhi had just returned to power through a stunningly decisive election margin. The authors next examine results of public opinion polls and find that Soviet stock was consistently high, both before and after the invasion, and Afghanistan was not viewed as a major problem area except in terms of the escalation of superpower rivalry. An examination of military and economic linkages between India and the Soviets shows a continuing dependence on Soviet military aid, trade, technology, and investment. Also pointed out is the Indian image of the Soviets as a reliable friend in past crises. Both the intelligentsia and the press are downplayed as having much effect on opinion formation for either Mrs. Gandhi or the Indian electorate. Drawing on the above factors the author concludes that Mrs. Gandhi will continue to uphold Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation while advocating a political solution to the Afghan crisis and maintaining friendly relations with the United States.

Horn, Robert C. "Afghanistan and the Soviet-Indian Influence Relationship." Asian Survey, vol. 23 (March 1983), p. 244.

The author examines various attempts made by the Soviet Union and India to influence each other on the Afghanistan problem. After analyzing numerous official visits, statements, press conferences of various top-level Indian and Soviet officials, and statements made before such international audiences as the United Nations General Assembly and the Nonaligned Movement, he

concludes that neither side has been able to influence the other, to any significant degree, from their original positions. India has been unable to convince the Soviets to withdraw any of their forces from Afghanistan or even discuss plans for doing so. The Soviets, on the other hand, have not been able to secure Indian support for their presence in Afghanistan. The author predicts, however, that Indo-Soviet friendship will continue, and neither country will jeopardize its relations with the other over differences concerning Afghanistan.

"A Dance of Death." Asiaweek, 4 March 1983, p. 11.

The weekly cover story is on the violence erupting across the northern tier of the subcontinent from Karachi to Assam. The main focus is on the election massacres in Assam where the death toll has risen above 1,000 and is expected to climb higher. The many-sided problem in Assam results from clashes in the sensitive areas of religion, language, ethnic, and cultural background, and economics. In this bewildering kaleidoscope of tensions, Hindu is pitted against Muslim, Bengali against Assamese, tribal against nontribal Assamese, and established settlers against newcomers. The authors warn that unless Mrs. Gandhi is able to settle the problems and put a stop to the growing strength of the militant movement in Assam, the whole Northeast will descend further into the vortex of turmoil.

Ram, Mohan. "Assam's Death Toll." Far Eastern Review, 10 March 1983, p. 9.

The toll from Assam's February election violence has reached 2,500 dead, 30,000 homes burned, and thousands of people forced to seek refuge. Assamese student groups have been agitating since 1979 to have the names of foreigners (mostly from Bangladesh) removed from the voter rolls because they feared that Assamese were becoming a minority in their own state. An election boycott called for by the student groups was supported by three political parties leaving only the Congress (I) and the Left-Democratic Alliance as contenders. The election polarized the state's voters into conflicting groups, which led to clashes between the Assamese and Bengali speakers, between Hindus and Muslims, and between Assamese tribal hill dwellers and lowland villagers. The Congress (I) won 90 of 108 seats in the legislature. But in Assamese areas, the voter turnout was less than one percent, leaving the legitimacy of the new government in question.

Assam: Assessing the Damage." Asiaweek, 11 March 1983, p. 8.

Some 15,000 regular troops of the Indian Army and 135,000 paramilitary forces were used to end the violence in Assam during the February elections that took an estimated toll of 1,500 lives. The article comments that the blood-bath that uprooted the lives of 200,000 in Assam and left physical and psychological scars on the whole state, seemed to hardly cause a ripple in the Indian heartland, except for bickering in New Delhi over where to lay blame.

"Ninety-Seven Ways to Non-committal." Asiaweek, 11 March 1983, p. 6.

The Nonaligned Movement has come a long way in terms of size, if not greatness, according to this editorial. Since the first summit in 1961, membership has grown from 25 to 97 nations. Projected to come out of the forthcoming conference, however, are seven million pages of rhetoric and very little consensus.

"The Struggle to Restore Neutrality." Asiaweek, 11 March 1983, p. 10.

The key issues before the upcoming nonaligned summit meeting in New Delhi are Cambodia, Afghanistan, global disarmament, and economic cooperation. But the main task for the host India, according to the author, will be to nudge the movement away from its pro-Soviet tilt and closer to its ideals of nonalignment and neutrality.

"A State Ravaged." India Today, 15 March 1983, p. 16.

After the votes were counted, the Congress (I) party won a sweeping but hollow victory in Assam state where more than 1,500 died in election violence. This cover story reports on the large-scale massacres, their causes and legacy.

Ram, Mohan. "Spending to Save." Far Eastern Economic Review, 17 March 1983, p. 83.

India has stepped up spending on its sixth five-year plan (ends 1985) by 21 percent and raised its defense allocation by 12 percent in spite of 1982's reduced agricultural production, slowdown in industrial growth, and slackening GNP rate of growth. The article details how the government hopes to balance the new expenditures against faltering revenues.

"All Against All." The Economist, 19 March 1983, p. 63.

The correspondent's main observation after a visit to violence-torn Assam was that everybody fought everybody else who was of a different race, religion, language group, or class. He also concluded after talking with the leaders of the All-Assam Students Union, whose three years of agitation resulted in the unpremeditated bloodbath, that the students were unaware of the "cataclysmic change they have wrought in their society" by their "xenophobic" preaching. The students were also described as unaware and uncaring about anything outside their narrow world. But the three "desperate solutions" offered by the "special correspondent" disclose a real lack of awareness or care about the problems of Assam.

"A Message of Hope." Asiaweek, 26 March 1983, p. 29.

This issue's cover story presents a summary of the events at the 7th Summit Conference of the Nonaligned Movement (NAM) in New Delhi in early March. Key

issues discussed included nuclear disarmament, Cambodia, Afghanistan, the Indian Ocean, the Iran-Iraq war, Palestine, and a "new international economic order." The article also covers the lobbying and pamphlet wars that went on behind the scenes at the conference.

"Mystique of NAM." Economic and Political Weekly, 26 March 1983, p. 496.

The Nonaligned Movement, in general, and Indira Gandhi, in particular, are criticized for their preference of rhetoric over realities.

"Next Massacre." Economist, 26 March 1983, p. 41.

Militant Assamese Hindu groups have threatened to resume the war against outsiders in June when the Muslim Bengali farmers are forced from their silt islands in the Brahmaputra River. Because of granaries destroyed during the February fighting and crops not planted, widespread famine is also predicted for this tragedy-ridden state.

Bobb, Dilip. "Daggers Drawn." India Today, 31 March 1983, p. 76.

A power struggle for the top position in the Indian government's intelligence organization, the Research & Analysis Wing (RAW), took place in March. The favored candidate, "Garry" Saxena, has an Indian Police Service background. Whoever succeeds faces the unenviable task of taking over an organization rife with internal bickering, low morale, and a reputation that has seriously deteriorated in the last five years.

"India Takes Charge." India Today, 31 March 1983, p. 8.

The seventh meeting of the Nonaligned Movement (NAM) in New Delhi in March brought together representatives of 101 nations, including 60 heads of state, who represented more than two-thirds of the world's population. India hosted the meeting with elegance and at great expense, and Indira Gandhi took over the chairmanship of the movement with an air of decisiveness. The main article of this cover story focuses on the major events and controversies of the meeting while several sidebar articles discuss the logistics and expense to India of hosting such an extravagant affair.

"Reaping the Whirlwind." India Today, 31 March 1983, p. 24.

There were no winners in the February elections in Assam state. The Congress (I) party secured 91 seats out of 109, but it could hardly be termed a victory since less than 33 percent of eligible voters cast ballots and election violence left hundreds dead and 400,000 homeless. The new chief minister, Hiteswar Saikia, and his government face the practically insurmountable problems of delivering relief to the homeless, maintaining law and order, containing communal and ethnic violence, and getting the

agitators back to the negotiating table. This special report contains articles on the election results in various districts, the special status and history of the overwhelmingly Bengali Cachar district, the power behind the All-Assam Students Union, and the plight of the refugees.

"Federalism to the Fore." India Today, 15 April 1983, p. 8.

With center-state relations in India at low ebb, the forces of federalism are gathering strength. The meeting of the four chief ministers of the southern states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Pondicherry, and their formation of a Southern Council was probably the impetus for the formation of a government commission on center-state relations. The article weighs and finds wanting the status of center-state relations around the country.

"Sikhs Grow More Militant." Asiaweek, 15 April 1980, p. 13.

The April "block-the-roads" campaign launched by militant Sikhs in Punjab resulted in a round of fierce clashes between the Sikhs and police that left twenty dead and hundreds injured. The growing militancy of the group has caused a rift within the Sikh leadership and led to recent resignations of 500 Akali party members. This, however, is inconsequential when compared to the 100,000 Sikhs who took part in the "block-the-roads" campaign.

"The Games Embassies Play." Newsmag, 16-30 April 1983, p. 7.

Superpower rivalry extends to the diplomatic cocktail circuit as both the Soviets and the United States attempt to get their points of view into the Indian press through wining, dining, and otherwise entertaining the local journalists. As for providing printed propaganda for distribution, the Soviets spend in a month what the Americans spend in a year. The article observes that while the Americans concentrate their efforts on influencing the elite, the Soviets aim their pitch at the man in the street. Both countries engage in espionage activities, but more Soviets have been charged with spying and sent packing.

"Asia's New Holy Warrior." Economist, 23 April 1983, p. 42.

A brief biography is presented of Sikh holy man Jarnail Singh Bhindranawale, his rise in the Sikh hierarchy, and the growing popularity of the fundamentalist Sikhism he espouses.

"Rising Extremism." India Today, 30 April 1983, p. 8.

Acts of terrorism, bombings, murders, and looting have become a daily routine in Punjab as the central government and the Akali Dal Sikh leaders remain far apart in their attempts to negotiate a settlement. The cover story includes a chronology of events in the Punjab crisis, beginning with the dismissal of

the Akali Dal government in April 1980 and continuing up to the April 1983 demonstrations that claimed 21 lives. Also included is a sidebar article on one of the key issues behind the Punjab violence, the rights to the waters of the Sutlej, Ravi, and Beas rivers. The central government is determined that Rajasthan and Haryana states should get a share of these waters to which the Akali leaders claim only Punjab, as the sole riparian state, has rights.

"Are the Soviets Arm-twisting Our Industry." Newsweek, 1-15 May 1983, p. 16.

A litany of complaints about the state of Indo-Soviet trade is presented, with emphasis on the problems in military trade. Criticisms cited include: Soviet-made submarines spend too much time in Vladivostok shipyards being repaired; the Soviets charge high prices for spare parts and maintenance; Indian technicians trained in the Soviet Union are given only rudimentary instruction; barter trade has led to import of lower quality goods and unwanted products; and several Indian industries have been seriously hurt by sudden withdrawal of the Soviets from the market.

Kaur, Harminder. "Budget Unfair to Defence Forces." Newsweek, 1-15 May 1983, p. 6.

A scathing indictment of cuts in the 1983-84 Indian defense budget is presented with facts and figures on specific projects and weapons likely to bear the brunt of the cuts. The budget actually calls for a 5.5 percent increase in spending over the previous year, but this translates into cuts of between 20 and 30 percent of the totals requested by the various services. Defense analysts estimate that the 1980-85 defense plan will be a casualty of the cuts, with almost two-thirds of plan goals having to be carried over to the next five year plan.

Shiveshwarkar, Gautam. "Can We Match the Pak War Machine." Newsweek, 1-15 May 1983, p. 12.

The author analyzes the efforts of the recent US military aid to Pakistan in terms of how it affects the military balance in South Asia. He concludes that while Pakistan now has the edge on paper, India can still hold its own. The article discusses India's particular military needs in order to keep up with new weapons, communication equipment, and techniques in modern warfare.

"Surmounting Problems of Obsolescence." Newsweek, 1-15 May 1983, p. 6.

India takes obsolescent military equipment that other countries have moth-balled or put in museums and adapts it to meet the demands of modern warfare.

"Panic in Punjab." Asiaweek, 13 May 1983, p. 16.

Militant Sikh leaders in Punjab are gaining in power and popularity, and the central government in New Delhi may have to accede to at least some of their



demands, including more political autonomy and a larger share of water resources.

Bobb, Dilip. "The Mystery Mission." India Today, 15 May 1983, p. 71.

India's government intelligence organization, the Research & Analysis Wing (RAW), continues to have its personnel and morale problems. The author indicates that a majority of RAW's 6,000 employees favor a major shakeup when the new boss, "Garry" Saxena takes over.

"Letter from New Delhi." New Yorker, 16 May 1983, p. 56.

This is a somewhat gossipy report on the innerworkings of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's household, and focuses on the rivalry between Gandhi and her daughter-in-law, Maneka. The article also touches on a number of current problems facing the government, including the disturbances in Assam.

Ram, Mohan. "Eyeball to Eyeball." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 May 1983, p. 29.

During this lull in the violence in Assam, the central government and the leaders of the Assamese opposition remain deadlocked over a solution to the illegal immigrant problem in that state. New Delhi seems determined to back Assam's newly-elected state legislature despite the election violence that left 3,000 dead and 400,000 homeless.

Ram, Mohan. "Upstaged from Outside." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 May 1983, p. 84.

New incentives offered by the Indian government to nonresident investors have led to a threatened takeover of two of the nation's top ten companies.

"Too Hot to Handle." Economist, 21 May 1983, p. 62.

The Indian government has claimed in recent years that its Tarapur nuclear power plant was only able to work at half capacity due to a shortage of nuclear fuel, which the United States has withheld because of India's refusal to sign the 1968 nuclear nonproliferation treaty. It now appears that contamination levels at the plant have made it necessary to restrict Tarapur to half-capacity because of the high level of radiation that would occur if the plant were in full operation.

Ali, Salamat. "Challenge from Without." Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 May 1983, p. 114.

The takeover scare continues to grip India's corporate sector because of new government incentives for investment by nonresident Indians. Until now, much

of Indian industry has been controlled by a few families whose actual share ownership is often less than five percent. These families control the companies by courtesy of the Government of India, which holds, either directly or through government-owned financial institutions, between 25 and 74 percent of the equity of each of the top 100 firms.

Ali, Salamat. "Water for a Wasteland." Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 May 1983, p. 48.

The author presents a brief survey of the Rajasthan canal project scheduled for completion in March 1985, its promise and its problems.

Mironov, Leonid. "Fighting and Building." New Times (Moscow), June 1983, p. 10.

In this diatribe on US interference in Afghanistan, the author presents a defense of Soviet policies toward Islam in that country. He claims that last year 29 new mosques were built, and many others repaired that had been "wrecked by bands of counterrevolutionary infiltrators." More than 20,000 Afghan Muslims have been allowed to make the pilgrimage to Mecca "at greatly reduced rates." The author also claims the support of the Afghan mullahs for the 1978 Marxist revolution and the policies of the current government. He further maintains that Afghan refugees in Pakistan, "who had been induced by deception to emigrate," are returning now to Afghanistan.

"Kashmir Heats Up." Asiaweek, 1 June 1983, p. 25.

Pre-election violence flared in Jammu and Kashmir state in May between supporters of the two major contending political parties, the ruling National Conference party and Indira Gandhi's Congress (I).

Ali, Samat. "Buried in Roubles." Far Eastern Economic Review, 2 June 1983, p. 96.

Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister I. V. Arkhipov paid a visit to New Delhi in early May amid increasing concern over trade problems between the two countries. A growing trade imbalance, in India's favor, has led the Soviets to resort to drastic and arbitrary cuts in imports, which in turn have had severe repercussions on a number of Indian industries. The article reviews other current problems in Indo-Soviet trade relations.

"To Buy or Not to Buy." Far Eastern Economic Review, 2 June 1983, p. 30.

The article presents both sides of the Indian controversy over how much and what kind of Soviet arms to purchase.

"The Terrible Twins Touch Fingers." Economist, 4 June 1983, p. 49.

With the first meeting in June of the Indo-Pakistani joint ministerial commission, some small steps have been taken in mending relations between the two countries, including relaxation of trade, communication, and travel restrictions. Major problems, such as Afghanistan, Kashmir, and the signing of a new pact between Pakistan and India await future meetings of the commission.

Ram, Mohan. "Baubles and Bangles." Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 June 1983, p. 118.

Smuggling of silver out of India has become big business as silver prices have begun to rise on the world market. Export of silver is banned in India, which does not produce silver, but has accumulated vast amounts of it over the centuries, mostly in the form of jewelry and utensils.

Ram, Mohan. "New Role for the Regions." Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 June 1983, p. 43.

Fourteen Indian opposition parties met together in May to search for a federal arrangement that can hold India together while allowing the states more autonomy than exists under the present center-oriented Gandhi government. Most of the major national and regional parties attended the meeting.

"Desai a Spy?" Asiaweek, 17 June 1983, p. 17.

Former Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai vehemently denied allegations made by American journalist Seymour M. Hersh in a forthcoming book that Desai was a U.S. Central Intelligence Agency spy in the 1960s.

"The Battle for Kashmir." Asiaweek, 17 June 1983, p. 18.

After a violence-marred campaign, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress (I) party appears to have made impressive inroads on the Jammu and Kashmir political scene, probably doubling its previous representation of 11 seats in the state assembly.

Ram, Mohan. "Polarization at the Polls." Far Eastern Economic Review, 23 June 1983, p. 28.

The June election in Jammu and Kashmir has sharpened regional and religious divisions within the state. The Hindu majority in the Jammu region, which seeks greater integration with India, voted overwhelmingly for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress (I) party. The Muslim majority in the Kashmir valley region, which supports the state's special autonomous status,

returned Farooq Abdullah and his National Conference to power. The author surveys the problems and dangers in the growing divisiveness within the state.

"United Against Mrs. Gandhi." Economist, 25 June 1983, p. 44.

With a general election due in 1985, the Indian political opposition is beginning to organize to oppose the centrist policies of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress (I) party.

## NEPAL

### Monographs

Aryal, Deepak, Regumi, Rabintra, and Rimal, Nirmal. Nepal District Profile: A Districtwise Socio-Techno-Economic Profile of Nepal. Kathmandu: National Research Associates, 1982, 855 pp.

Pondyal, Sriram. Planned Development in Nepal. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1983, 135 pp.

Nepal is currently in its sixth five-year plan for economic development. This volume is an attempt to analyze the development performance of the Nepalese economy under these plans, particularly in the key areas of agriculture and industry. The gross domestic product (GDP) under the various plans is examined as the best indicator of the country's level of development. The findings show that the GDP reflected no improvement in the economy, which the author attributed to stagnation in agriculture and industry. A failure to increase agricultural production was found despite land reform measures, increased use of fertilizers, improved seeds, and increased irrigation. The performance of the industrial sector has been equally discouraging, despite measures designed to increase private sector investment. The author concludes with a dire warning that, unless decisive measures are taken immediately, within a few years the viability of the country itself will be in jeopardy. (bibliography, index, tables)

Shaha, Rishikesh. Essays in the Practice of Government of Nepal. New Delhi: Manohar, 1982, 258 pp.

### Serials

Singh, Kedar Man. "Nepal Devalues the Rupee--Again." Far Eastern Economic Review, 13 January 1983, p. 6.

Nepal has devalued its rupee--for the second time in 15 months--8.3 percent against the US dollar. The devaluation was brought on partly by a recent effective devaluation of the Indian rupee and a move to boost sagging exports. Nepal's trade deficit as of July 1982 stood at Rs 3.3 billion.

"Hello, Nepal Calling. . ." Asian Business, February 1983, p. 12.

Installation of a new earth satellite station at Balambu, near Kathmandu has linked the outside world with the mountain kingdom of Nepal. The satellite system was built under a British grant by Marconi Communications International, which also provided a full training program for Nepalese engineers and technicians who will be responsible for running the site.

Singh, Kedar Man. "Down on the Farm." Far Eastern Economic Review, 31 March 1983, p. 70.

Nepal's economic problems continue to mount as bad weather plagues the agricultural sector and government deficit financing fans inflation. Other problems include declining tourism, rising unemployment, and a balance of payments deficit. Steps taken by the government of Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa to counteract the economic downturn have had little effect so far.

#### PAKISTAN

##### Monographs

Adams, John and Iqbal, Sabiha. Exports, Politics, and Economic Development. Pakistan, 1970-1982. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983, 257 pp.

The authors document the role of interest groups in shaping Pakistan's trade policy during the politically turbulent period of 1970-82. They conclude that rivalries between these interest groups have been the major determinants affecting Pakistan's export performance. (bibliography, figures, tables)

Asghar Khan, Mohammed. Generals in Politics, Pakistan 1958-1982. New Delhi: Vikas, 1983, 230 pp.

Burki, Shahid Javed. Pakistan. A Nation in the Making. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1983, 128 pp.

The author concludes that the turbulence that has marked Pakistan's economic and political history is due to the inability of those in power to synthesize the diverse interests that are represented in the nation's population. (index, map, photos)

Hussain, Syed Shabbir. Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: The Long Wait. Islamabad: Kamran Publishing House, 1982, 28 pp. (illustrations, map)

Mukherjee, Amitava. India's Policy Toward Pakistan. New Delhi: Associated Book Centre, 1983, 137 pp. (index)

Quddus, Syed Abdul. Afghanistan and Pakistan: A Geopolitical Study. Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd., 1982, 210 pp.

Syed, Anwar Hussain. Pakistan: Islam, Politics, and National Solidarity. New York: Praeger, 1982, 203 pp.

The relation of Islam to the political issue of national unity is discussed along with the two alternative approaches to the task of nationbuilding: the secular vs. the Islamic state. The author concludes that in the foreseeable future, Pakistan's prospects for national unity are remote.

Venkataramani, M. S. The American Role in Pakistan, 1947-1958. New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1982, 480 pp.

According to the author, the threat of "Hindu imperialism" as conjured up by the founding father of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Asam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, was responsible for the folly of the US-Pakistani military relationship. The study assesses the American role in Pakistan during the period 1947-58, and concludes that although the United States was initially unresponsive to Pakistan's overtures for assistance in building up its armed forces to counter those of neighbor India, the United States "gradually became interested in using Pakistan. . .for its own security objectives." The author laments that Pakistan did not identify itself with the anticolonial forces stirring in Africa and Asia and become a leader in what became the Nonaligned Movement, as India did. George Washington's "Farewell Address" is quoted as a guideline for young, weak nations to follow in dealing with strong nations: ". . .it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another: . . .it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character." (bibliography, index, tables)

### Serials

"Fulfilling a Mandate." Asiaweek, 7 January 1983, p. 20.

In recent two-day talks between Indian Foreign Secretary M. Rasgotra and his Pakistani counterpart Niaz Naik, groundwork was laid for a joint commission to meet annually in New Delhi and Islamabad alternately to discuss various problems and issues. Excluded, however, from the commission agenda are the questions of Kashmir and the introduction of sophisticated arms into the region. The two-day talks were apparently unaffected by a Washington Post article saying India had made contingency plans to launch a preemptive strike on Pakistan's nuclear installations.

Aftab, Mohammed. "A Demolition picnic." Far Eastern Economic Review, 13 January 1983, p. 49.

One of the most successful new industries in Pakistan is that of shipbreaking--turning old ships into scrap metal. The industry is centered

at Gadani on the Arabian Sea, 22 miles west of Karachi where hundreds of steel rerolling factories have sprung up to produce a wide range of small steel products. For the last 5 years about 100 ships, most of them obtained from Greece, have been broken up annually in Gadani. Pakistan uses more than a million tons of steel annually, mostly imported in the form of raw materials. The Karachi steel mill, built and financed by the Soviets, is the country's only steel mill and it is not yet in full operation.

Aftab, Mohammed. "Margin for Improvement." Far Eastern Economic Review, 13 January 1983, p. 55.

Official government of Pakistan figures for fiscal year 1982 (ended June 30) show the economy of that country up slightly over last year even after delinking the rupee from the US dollar in January 1982. The gross domestic product (GDP) rose 6.3 percent, agricultural input went up 4 percent, and industrial output rose 12.1 percent. Sugarcane, rice, and cotton production were up, but wheat was down slightly. Private sector investment was up 13.4 percent and state sector investment up 20.1 percent, despite government encouragement of private enterprise. Inadequate infrastructure, including transport, telecommunications, and utility services are seen as a discouragement to investors, as well as rising costs and government regulation.

"Pakistan May Break Up." India Today, 15 January 1983, pp. 60-62.

India Today interviews Nusrat Bhutto, wife of the executed Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in Paris where she has gone to seek treatment for cancer. Questioning ranged from the final days of Bhutto to the prospects for elections in Pakistan.

Jones, Rodney W. and Roberts, Brad. "Pakistan and Regional Security." Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 6 (Spring 1983), p. 3.

Events of the past four years in Southwest Asia have significantly changed the security environment surrounding Pakistan and, as a result, the US-Pakistani relationship. The authors examine the nature of the threat faced by Pakistan and how it bears on Pakistani domestic and international stability. The direction of US-Pakistani bilateral relations is discussed with particular focus on current issues, including nonproliferation and the "dilemma of the nondemocratic government in Pakistan." The authors base some of their conclusions on the proceedings of a December 1982 conference at Georgetown University, which included among its participants Pakistan's Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan, and former US security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. The conference was reportedly optimistic about the future of Pakistani-US relations, but the authors urge the necessity for both sides to adopt realistic expectations of the relationship while avoiding "rhetorical posturing."

"Religion, Rights: Two Shockwaves." Asiaweek, 4 March 1983, p. 18.

Pakistan was rocked by two types of civil disturbances in February. In Karachi rivalry between Sunni and Shi'ite Muslim factions erupted in riots and arson attacks on mosques in that city. Meanwhile, in Lahore 200 women lawyers marched to protest a new law that states that Pakistan's courts will consider the testimony of two women equal to that of one man. Police baton-charged the demonstrators as they marched on the Punjab high court building, sending about two dozen to the hospital. Despite protests over the police brutality, the government of Zia-ul Haq has reaffirmed its determination to downgrade women's rights.

"Brothers in Islam." Economist, 26 March 1983, p. 40.

Tensions between Pakistan's Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims have been aggravated by President Zia-ul Haq's Islamization program. The Shias make up about 20 percent of the population, but are generally better educated and more affluent than the majority Sunnis. Battles over economic disparity are often fought in the name of doctrinal differences.

Banerjee, Jyotiromoy. "Hot and Cold Diplomacy in Indo-Pakistani Relations." Asian Survey, vol. 23 (March 1983), p. 280.

Indo-Pakistani relations since Indira Gandhi's return to power have resembled a fencing match. The author traces diplomatic one-upmanship and allegations by both sides on the questions of Kashmir, the Indo-Soviet arms deal, the US-Pakistani arms package, the Pakistani proposed no-war pact, the Indian proposed treaty of peace and friendship, and nuclear proliferation. The reader soon loses track of the score. The author sounds the warning that unless India and Pakistan give up their game of trying to outfox each other, a tactic which has contributed greatly to the destabilization of the sub-continent, events in Kashmir and tensions over arms acquisitions may push bilateral relations out of control, with unforeseeable consequences for both countries.

Cheema, Pervaiz Iqbal. "The Afghan Crisis and Pakistan's Security Dilemma." Asian Survey, vol. 23 (March 1983), p. 227.

The nature of the security threat Pakistan faces, according to the author, is three-pronged: an internal threat, an Indian threat, and a threat from Soviet-dominated Afghanistan. The bulk of the article is directed at analyzing the Afghanistan threat, including the reasons for the Soviet invasion, the Afghan resistance movement and its Pakistani connections (which according to the author, the Pakistani Government does its best to minimize), and the refugee problem, with its additional burdens and dangers for Pakistan. Uppermost among Pakistani fears and worries is that Pakistan is the next Soviet target; that because of sheltering the refugees, Pakistan will be drawn into the Afghan civil war; that the Soviets will attempt to foment dissidence in Baluchistan or the North-West Frontier Province; or that Pakistan's somewhat shaky internal situation will not weather the



storms of outside pressures. The prescription for this troubled situation, pronounced somewhat doubtfully, is for normalization of relations with India, negotiations with Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, and a search for a viable political system for Pakistan.

Ramesh, Jairam. "Importance of Dhodak Oilfield." Economic and Political Weekly, 29 January 1983, p. 141.

The Pakistan Government has opened the bidding to foreign companies on the development and operation of the Dhodak oil field. The importance of the discovery of this significant field can be gauged by the fact that Pakistan currently imports about 90 percent of its crude requirements. The article surveys Pakistan's energy strengths and deficiencies and discusses problems in tapping reserves in Baluchistan.

Fullerton, John. "Crackdown in Khyber." Far Eastern Economic Review, 20 January 1983, p. 14.

Pakistani authorities, upon urging by the United States, have cracked down on the opium trade and heroin production in its Khyber tribal agency bordering Afghanistan. Pakistan has become in late years the single largest conduit for illegal narcotics exported to the West, and Pakistan itself is reporting a rapidly rising number of heroin addicts. The crackdown was accomplished by enlisting the support of tribal elders and influential leaders of the Afridi and Shinwari tribes to support the authorities in closing down 28 small heroin factories. The Afghan Minister for Tribes and Nationalities reportedly accused the United States of trying to deprive the border tribes of their livelihood and offered sanctuary to the Shinwaris who want to carry on their narcotics enterprise.

Lodhi, Maleeha. "Pakistan People's Party and Pakistani Democracy." Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 6 (Spring 1983), p. 20.

The inability of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) to mobilize opposition to the Zia-ul Haq government is attributed by the author to the failure of the PPP as an organization, rather than the repressive nature of the current regime. In a lucid style, Lodhi, a lecturer in political science at the London School of Economics and Political Science, analyzes what went wrong with the PPP, which in 1970 stood on the brink of transforming itself from a mass movement into a political party, and thereby laying a firm foundation for civilian democracy in a country more used to praetorianism. The PPP, however, faced a number of problems. It was heterogeneous in nature, which led to intense factionalism. Power was centralized under PPP founder Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, which prevented the development of secondary leadership and formal party structure. The intense patrimonialism of Bhutto's leadership, which in later years amounted to dictatorship of the party, resulted in the defection of several elements, most particularly on the left. The PPP essentially became a more conservative, rural-based organization unable to

stand up to the street power mobilized by the more urban-based opposition parties. The author concludes that, as yet, the PPP seems incapable of mobilizing the support it enjoys in order to return to power.

"Proxy War in Karachi." South, April 1983, p. 28.

Sectarian riots between Sunni and Shia Muslims broke out in Karachi in February, threatening to damage Pakistan's relations with Shia-ruled Iran. Pakistan, with its 80 percent Sunni Muslim population, attempts to walk the narrow path of friendship with both Iran and Iraq, who are locked in a war that has claimed 180,000 casualties. The burning of a new Shi'ite mosque in Karachi by Sunni extremists touched off the recent fighting between the Pakistani adherents of the two Muslim sects.

"The War of Zia's Moustache." Economist, 2 April 1983, p. 55.

The Islamization policies of the government of Pakistani president Zia-ul Haq have opened the door to all sorts of mischief by religious bigots in the name of Islam. Most conspicuous are attempts by reactionary maulvi (priests) to set women's rights back by several centuries. Pakistani women, led by the Women's Action Forum, are fighting this trend at the cost of beatings, jail sentences, and general harassment. Part of the impetus for this backward policy is the increase of Saudi Arabian money and influence in the country.

Vertzberger, Yaacov. "The Political Economy of Sino-Pakistani Relations: Trade and Aid, 1963-82." Asian Survey, vol. 23 (May 1983), p. 637.

The author, a noted specialist on Pakistani foreign relations, writes that most studies of Sino-Pakistani entente emphasize only the politico-strategic element of the relationship. Partly to fill in this gap in the literature, Vertzberger concentrates on the aid and trade side of the equation. The two sides have signed yearly border trade agreements since 1969, during which time the volume of trade has increased 14 times over. The Chinese have helped in numerous development projects ranging from a glass factory to an aircraft rebuild facility. China has become an important market for Pakistani raw materials and processed goods, even though the two economies are more competitive than complementary to each other. Finally, Wertzberger details the increasing flow of Chinese arms to Pakistan and speculates on China's motivations for extending military support to Islamabad over the years.

Shiveshwarkar, Gautam. "Can We Match the Pak War Machine." Newsweek, 1-15 May 1983, p. 12.

The author analyzes the efforts of the recent US military aid to Pakistan in terms of how it affects the military balance in South Asia. He concludes that while Pakistan now has the edge on paper, India can still hold its own. The article discusses India's particular military needs in order to keep up with new weapons, communication equipment, and techniques in modern warfare.

Subhan, Malcom. "Cash with Conditions." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 May 1983, p. 60.

Pakistan will get a substantial increase in foreign aid for the fiscal year beginning on July 1, mainly from the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the United States. The new aid will go to repayment of old debts, energy development, project aid, commodity aid, and development projects for Baluchistan province. One problem with the new aid package is that much of the money is given with the understanding that purchases will be made in specified donor countries, which increases the cost of aid projects by 30-50 percent, according to Pakistani sources.

"The Town of Ten Thousand Guns." Asiaweek, 13 May 1983, p. 54.

In the town of Darra in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province, the major industry is the counterfeiting and sale of arms. Most of the gunsmiths are of the Adam Khel Afridi tribe and their expertise ranges from small pistols to antitank grenade launchers.

"The Terrible Twins Touch Fingers." Economist, 4 June 1983, p. 49.

With the first meeting in June of the Indo-Pakistani joint ministerial commission, some small steps have been taken in mending relations between the two countries, including relaxation of trade, communication, and travel restrictions. Major problems, such as Afghanistan, Kashmir, and the signing of a new pact between Pakistan and India await future meetings of the commission.

Aftab, Mohammed. "Investors' New Playground." Far Eastern Economic Review, 9 June 1983, p. 52.

Pakistan's new "pro-private sector" five-year plan (1983-88) is attracting considerable interest from foreign private investors, especially from the United States, Britain, and the Middle East. Areas in which investors have expressed interest include the manufacture of textiles, fertilizers, cement, tractors, electronics, computers, and cars. Investors have, however, expressed concern over problems with Pakistani government over-regulation of the economy, energy shortages, and lack of infrastructure, all of which could adversely affect investment projects.

Aftab, Mohammed. "The Water Seems Fine." Far Eastern Economic Review, 9 June 1983, p. 53.

Foreign investors are being wooed by the Pakistan government with a host of new incentives, including freedom to repatriate unlimited profit, rebates on import duty on machinery sent to investment projects in less developed areas, concessional duties for importation of certain raw materials, no import duties on machinery for certain industries, etc.

Lifschultz, Lawrence. "An Accord in the Offing." Far Eastern Economic Review, 9 June 1983, p. 28.

The increasingly optimistic outlook for a settlement on Afghanistan is attributed to a significant political realignment within the Soviet leadership, the continuing prospect of military stalemate in Afghanistan, and concern in Pakistan over escalating domestic tensions. The article discusses the delicateness of the Geneva negotiations, particularly from the Pakistani point of view.

Morello, Ted. "A Hiccup at the Brink." Far Eastern Economic Review, 9 June 1983, p. 30.

Pakistani foreign minister Yaqub Khan has launched a one-man peace mission aimed at bringing about a solution to the Afghan problem. The mission includes visits to permanent members of the UN Security Council--United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China--in an attempt to gain support for the UN Geneva talks on Afghanistan. The problem lies in convincing both sides to give the Geneva talks a chance rather than trying to win a settlement by military means on the battlefield.

"Strongman to Diplomat." Far Eastern Economic Review, 9 June 1983, p. 26.

It is generally agreed that Pakistani strongman Zia-ul Haq has grown into his position and is no lightweight either as a politician or a diplomat. The article includes an interview with Zia by the Review chief correspondent Rodney Tasker, focusing primarily on topics related to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

Tasker, Rodney. "All Eyes Are on Islamabad." Far Eastern Economic Review, 9 June 1983, p. 23.

Pakistan's role in the continuing UN Geneva talks on Afghanistan is seen as crucial by its allies, including the United States, China, Saudi Arabia, and Britain. The fear is that Pakistan will cave in to Soviet pressures to compromise.

Tasker, Rodney. "Cracking the Whip." Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 June 1983, p. 25.

Pakistani President Zia-ul Haq's program of Islamization is having mixed success. The more secularized elements of the Pakistani population, including most of the political opposition and many military officers, are chafing under the new strictures. Many Pakistani women are fighting the downgrading of their role under the program. Rioting has also broken out between the majority Sunni and the minority Shia sects, the latter opposed to having the majority doctrine imposed on them. Supporters of the Islamization campaign include religious scholars and priests, conservative Muslims, and

the radical Islamic movement, Jamaat-i-Islami. The Zia government has cracked down on its opposition in the name of Islam, an effective weapon in many cases because of the harsh punishments meted out. However, opposition to this use of Islam as a political weapon is growing.

Fullerton, Romey. "Problems Beneath the Veil." Far Eastern Economic Review, 30 June 1983, p. 35.

President Zia-ul Haq's Islamization program has collided head-on with growing demands for Pakistani women's rights.

Lifschultz, Lawrence. "The Mengal Formula." Far Eastern Economic Review, 30 June 1983, p. 16.

The former chief minister of Baluchistan, Ataullah Mengal, has issued a declaration from exile in London saying that the Baluch people will no longer pursue their 35-year quest for provincial autonomy within Pakistan, but, rather, will fight for complete independence. The article traces the background of Baluchi struggles for autonomy from 19th century British India days when Baluchistan, like Nepal, maintained treaty relations directly with London. Mengal said the point of no return had been passed after three decades of fighting for provincial autonomy within Pakistan. The struggle would now be for an independent Baluchistan having direct relations with both the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as the Gulf states.

#### SRI LANKA

##### Monographs

Hameed, A. C. Shahul. In Pursuit of Peace. On Non-Alignment and Regional Cooperation. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1983, 121 pp.

This rambling essay by Sri Lanka's minister of foreign affairs surveys the efforts of the Nonaligned Movement over the past twenty years to have an impact on such problems as colonialism, disarmament, and economic disparity. The Palestine situation is a favorite theme to which the author returns again and again. Afghanistan and Kampuchea are barely mentioned.

##### Serials

Warnapala, Wisna. "Seeking Sanction for Dictatorship." Economic and Political Weekly, 1-8 January 1983, p. 17.

President Junius R. Jayewardene is accused of using the 1982 referendum to extend the life of the current Sri Lankan Parliament with the aim of developing a depoliticized society leading to an eventual dictatorship.

de Silva, Manik. "Jayewardene Hits a Six." Far Eastern Economic Review, 6 January 1983, p. 10.

President Junius Jayewardene's gamble to preserve his party's huge parliamentary majority through a referendum amending the constitution to provide for a six-year extension of the current parliament has paid off. The December 22 victory came hard on the heels of the October election in which Jayewardene was elected to a second term. The referendum was strongly contested by the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). Opposition leaders claimed vote fraud and harassment of election officials. There were appeals to Jayewardene to hold a general election before long, out of respect for the substantial minority. Even traditional UNP supporters questioned the morality of continuing the five-sixths majority of the party on the strength of a simple majority referendum. There is talk of adding 28 more seats to the parliament, mostly to be filled by the opposition under proportional representation provided for in the constitution. Some UNP MP heads may roll since Jayewardene asked for undated letters of resignation from all of his MPs, promising the electorate to purge the party of undesirables. There is speculation that he may include some opposition leaders in his government.

"Long Innings." Asiaweek, 7 January 1983, p. 23.

Sri Lanka voters passed a referendum in December extending the current parliament's term of office until 1989. The vote (nearly 55 percent in favor) reflected support for the free enterprise policies of President Junius Jayewardene. The president, himself reelected in October, faces the problems of keeping his rapidly expanding economy on course and dealing with the Tamil secessionist movement in the northern district of Jaffna.

de Silva, C. R. "Sri Lanka: A Vote for Continuity." Asian Thought & Society, vol. 8 (March-July 1983), p. 146.

Sri Lankan political events of 1982 are analyzed in terms of their affect on the climate for democracy in that country. De Silva concludes that the results of the presidential election and the referendum extending the life of the Parliament were votes for continuity of both the government, and for the principle of democracy.

de Silva, Mervyn. "The Indian Connection." India Today, 15 March 1983, p. 81.

With the increase of violence in the Tamil-dominated northern part of the island, the Sri Lankan Government has announced it is revamping its intelligence service, which will consist of handpicked operatives working directly under President Junius Jayewardene. It was also recently announced that the Sri Lankan government has proof that members of the Tamil "Liberation Tigers" separatist group had received weapons training in India. The Tigers find it an easy matter to perform their raids and then cross over to India where they blend into the population of Tamil Nadu state. Part of the problem is that Sri Lanka and India have no treaty of extradition under which lawbreakers can be returned to Sri Lanka to stand trial.

de Silva, Manik. "Tidying Up the House." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 May 1983, p. 26.

Upcoming local and Parliamentary by-elections are previewed, with admiration shown for President Junius Jayewardene's plan to get rid of unpopular MP's of his United National Party and at the same time display a willingness to let the opposition parties have a shot at obtaining more representation. Eighteen seats will be opened to by-elections; not enough to cause the UNP to lose its two-thirds majority, even if it lost all of the contested seats.

"Yes with a Bang." Economist, 28 May 1983, p. 56.

President Junius Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) managed to win 14 of 18 parliamentary seats contested in the May by-election in Sri Lanka, indicating a sweeping vote of confidence in his policies backing free enterprise. The elections were, however, marred by Tamil separatist-related violence in the north, a pressing problem facing the Jayewardene government.

Blackton, John Stuart. "The Private Sector in Sri Lanka Since 1977." Asian Survey, vol. 23 (June 1983), p. 736-51.

The author examines the effects of the sweeping economic liberalization program instituted in Sri Lanka by the United National Party (UNP) government of Junius Jayewardene in 1977. He analyzes the goals of the liberalization policy and the problems encountered in the 1977-82 period. Elected to an unprecedented second six-year term, the Jayewardene government has a rare opportunity to perfect its programs and rebuild the Sri Lankan economy along the Singaporean lines favored by the current leadership. The most pressing question is whether both the high degree of welfare, which the Sri Lankan electorate has come to expect, as well as the high growth rate can be simultaneously sustained.

Ali, Salamat. "Time for a Rethink." Far Eastern Economic Review, 23 June 1983, pp. 30-31.

Sri Lanka's local and parliamentary elections held in May indicated that President Junius Jayewardene is very much in control of that nation's political affairs, but the problem of Tamil unrest must be attended to. Government officials have treated Tamil complaints--inadequate job opportunities, limited access to higher education, and demands for local autonomy--as problems that could only be solved over a period of time. Tamils think that time has run out and are particularly pressing for immediate withdrawal of the army from the north and annulment of the prevention of terrorism act that gives the army and police wide powers of arrest without due process. ✓